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Reassessing the Date of the Beginning of the Grey Series Transport Amphorae from Lesbos

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Abstract

*This study seeks to reassess the conventional chronology for the beginning of the Grey Series amphorae from the isle of Lesbos. Based on a rediscovery of a Lesbian amphora in a secured Iron Age IIB context at Tell Qudadi (Israel), it is suggested that the beginning of the Lesbian series should be dated to ca 700 BC (that is significantly earlier than previously assumed), similar to other archaic East Greek amphorae series (e.g., Samian, Chian and Clazomenian). The study is accompanied by thin-section and NAA analyses carried on the Lesbian amphorae from Tell Qudadi and Meẓad Ḥashavyahu (Israel).**

Introduction

The term 'Lesbian Grey Series amphorae' relates to a well-known family of ceramic transport amphorae, originating most probably on the isle of Lesbos. The chronology, typology and distribution of these containers were discussed in length in a number of extensive studies.[1] According to a commonly held view, the initial production of the Lesbian Grey Series took place in the later part of the 7th century BC.[2] Indeed, although Cook, following his excavations of ancient Smyrna in Asia Minor, did suggest that these amphorae were already in existence in the 8th century BC if not earlier,[3] this theory has never been supported by additional archaeological evidence, and the early Grey Series amphorae from Smyrna remain largely unpublished. The earliest secure dated example of Lesbian Grey Series amphorae came from the excavation of the Athenian Agora, in a context of the third quarter of the 7th century BC.[4] Other early examples have also been ascribed to no earlier than the second part of the 7th century BC. This relates to a modest number of vessels uncovered in a number of late 7th-century BC assemblages, their find-spots encompassing the whole Mediterranean. Thus a number of Grey Series Lesbian amphorae pieces have been unearthed in what seems to be late 7th-century BC contexts in Kommos (Crete);[5] in a number of Greek colonial contexts in southern Italy;[6] in Tocra on the Lybian coast;[7] in Clazomenai (Ionia), particularly in its Akpinar necropolis, where such amphorae were used as containers for infant inhumations;[8] in Histria on the Black Sea[9] and in Meẓad Ḥashavyahu and Ashkelon in Israel.[10] In the early 6th century BC both the distribution and the quantity of Lesbian transport-amphorae exports rose significantly.[11]

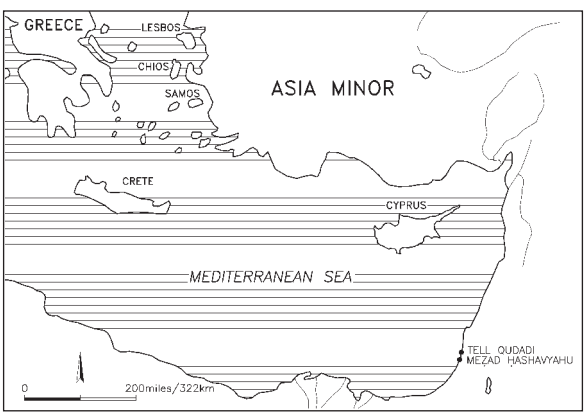


Fig. 1. Tell Qudadi and Meẓad Ḥashavyahu in their Mediterranean setting.

The conventional chronology concerning the initial production of the Lesbian amphorae is in line with the so-called conventional chronologies of additional East Greek-series transport amphorae, which came from workshops in Samos, Chios, Clazomenai, Miletos and elsewhere, and according to the conventional view also began to appear in the second half of the 7th century BC (at the earliest).[12] However, in too many cases much weight was given to the Black Sea region whereas the evidence from other areas was sometimes overlooked.[13] The current archaeological consensus, although still disputed by some historians, is that an actual Greek colonization of the Black Sea area began only in the second half or even in the late 7th century BC.[14] This is the reason why the conventional chronologies for the initial production stage of the Archaic East Greek amphorae, based mainly on the evi-

Fig. 2. Tell Qudadi prior to the excavations (1925, photo by S. Korbman (by special permission of the Administrator General, the State of Israel, as the executor of S. Korbman Estate and Eretz Israel Museum, Tel Aviv)).

dence from the Black Sea region, have been so widely accepted. However, new evidence from Carthage in North Africa and Toscanos in Spain prove that these chronological assumptions are not precise, since several East Greek amphorae fragments from various workshops were found in much earlier contexts. R.F. Docter, in his comprehensive study of these early amphorae, concludes persuasively that the production and distribution of the Samian amphorae began as early as the third quarter of the 8th century BC instead of the customarily late 7th-century BC date; those of Chios were already produced in the beginning of the second quarter of the 7th century BC and not in the third quarter of that century, while the beginning of the Clazomenian series may be dated to the end of the 8th century BC instead of the second half of the 7th century BC.[15] Although some hints for the earlier appearance of the Lesbian-series transport amphorae are known,[16] so far it had been impossible to claim with certainty that their initial production had begun much earlier than the latter part of the 7th century BC. In what follows, we contend that like the Samian, Chian and Clazomenian series, the beginning of the Lesbian series should also be dated significantly earlier. We base our argument on new evidence, namely a rediscovery of a Grey Series Lesbian amphora fragment at Tell Qudadi, Israel.

New evidence from old excavations

Tell Qudadi[17] is a medium-sized mound located within the city limits of Tel Aviv on the northern bank of the Yarkon estuary of the Mediterranean (for general location, see *fig. 1*). The mound rises about 8 m above sea level (*fig. 2*). Trial excavations at the site were carried out as early as October

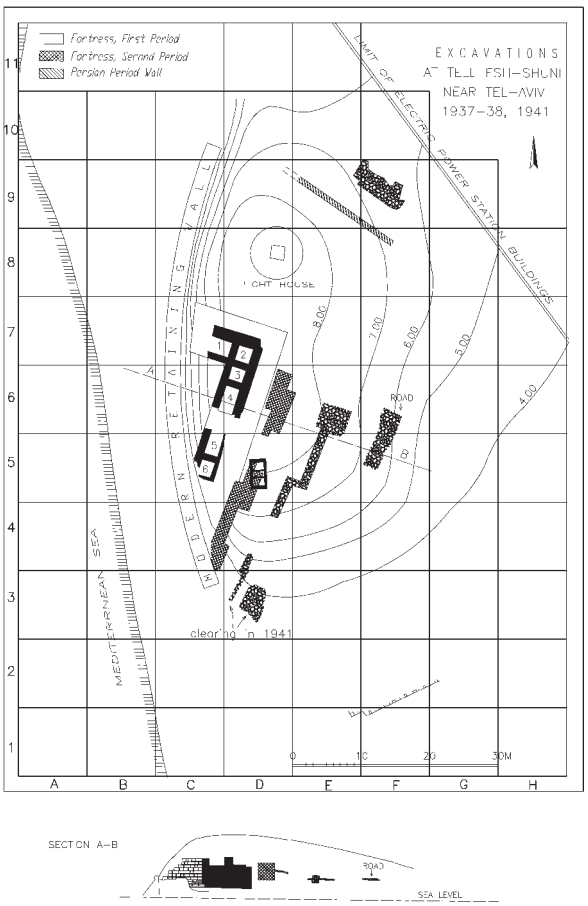


Fig. 3. Site map of Tell Qudadi of the 1937-1938 and 1941 seasons of excavations (re-drawn according to archival plan).

1936 under the direction of P.L.O. Guy on behalf of the British Mandatory Department of Antiquities. An extensive salvage excavation was conducted at the site by the Hebrew University of Jerusalem from November 1937 to March 1938, headed by E.L. Sukenik and S. Yeivin and assisted by N. Avigad. This excavation uncovered the remains of an impressive Iron Age fortress revealing two clear architectural phases (*fig. 3*).

The first fortress was erected upon a substructure of rough-hewn blocks of *kurkar* (fossilized dune sandstone), 3 m high with walls 7 m thick. The eastern wall is preserved to a length of 33 m and its southern wall to 14 m. All other walls of the substructure were completely destroyed. On top of this substructure, six rooms, built around a central courtyard, were found filled with sand. The walls of this structure were preserved to a height of 0.6 m. The excavators disagreed as to the dat-

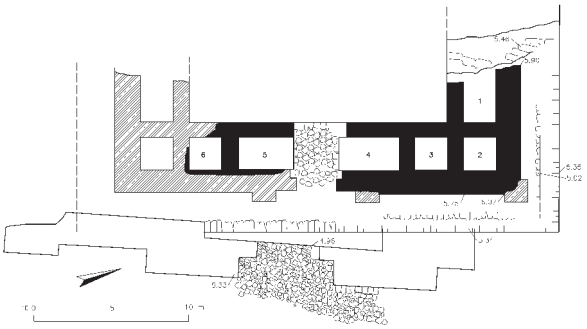


Fig. 4. Plan of the fortress of Tell Qudadi (re-drawn according to archival plan).

ing of the first phase of the fortress. In Yeivin's opinion, it was established during the 10th century BC, at the behest of King Solomon, in order to protect the approach from the sea and prevent possible hostile raids against inland settlements located along the Yarkon. He proposed that the establishment of the fortress at Tell Qudadi points to the existence of a developed maritime policy in the days of the United Monarchy.[18] Avigad, on the other hand, suggested that the fortress was erected sometime in the 9th century BC, and can be attributed to the Kingdom of Israel.[19]

From the second phase of the fortress, an inset-offset wall of rough-hewn blocks of *kurkar* was found parallel to the eastern façade of the first phase. Its length is ca 30 m, its thickness ca 2.50 m and its maximum height more than 2 m. Near its center was an entrance 4 m wide, protected by a buttress on each side and approached by a ramp paved with fieldstones (*fig. 4*). According to the excavators, two floors and two burnt layers they discovered were connected to the second phase of the fortress, since they cover the rooms of the first fortress. The pottery found in the burnt layers was dated to the end of the 9th and the beginning of the 8th centuries BC. The excavators therefore determined that the fortress belonged to the Israelite kingdom and they attributed the destruction of the second phase to the campaign of Tiglath-pileser III in 732 BC. Such a reconstruction of events was unreservedly accepted by other scholars.[20]

Although the excavations were carried out more than 70 years ago, the final results and the finds were never published, and Avigad's succinct half-page summary remained the most in-depth presentation of the Iron Age remains of the site.[21] Due to the importance of the fortress at Tell Qudadi, stemming from its monumental architecture and geographical location,[22] it was decided recently to collect all the relevant unpublished data in order to produce a final excavation report.[23] It should be noted that both the documentation concerning the excavation and the finds were well-preserved. Moreover, the high excavation standards adopted by the original team, amply evident from the documentation of the excavation and the storing of the finds, made the complicated task of producing a study on an old excavation considerably simpler. Our initial analysis of site's stratigraphy and numerous finds, together with a suggested historical/chronological setting, has been presented in detail elsewhere and there is no need to revisit it here in detail.[24]

In brief, contrary to the excavators' opinion, the first burnt layer represents the destruction of the first phase of the fortress and the second burnt layer represents the destruction of the second phase of the fortress. Likewise, a renewed study of ceramic finds from the site has shown unreservedly that all ceramic assemblages (three in total) associated with the Iron Age phases of the fortress of Tell Qudadi belong to what is referred to in Levantine archaeology as the Iron Age IIB period. Although heterogenic in nature, that is to say the three assemblages from Tell Qudadi feature northern, southern and coastal local characteristics, their study reveals no essential differences in terms of typology. The assemblages indicate a chronological horizon identified with the assemblages of Hazor VI-V or Beth-Shean P-7, or of Lachish Level III, destroyed by Sennacherib in 701 BC and its many parallels in the Land of Israel.[25] For many years scholars believed that the Iron Age IIB horizon represents mainly the second half of the 8th century BC. Nowadays the majority opinion favors the idea that the transition from the preceding assemblages of the Late Iron Age IIA to those of the beginning of the Iron Age IIB had already occurred at the beginning of the 8th century BC.[26] Most recently, however, it has been suggested once again that the Lachish Level III ceramic horizon, to which the Iron Age ceramic assemblages of the fortress of Tell Qudadi clearly belong, cannot predate the 760s BC.[27] This time, however, such a notion is based upon evaluation of a number of 14C dates from Beth-Shemesh 3, a stratum that features transitional Iron IIA/Iron IIB pottery forms.[28] Be that as it may, it seems that in terms of regional ceramic development, the transition between characteristic assemblages of the Late Iron IIA and Iron IIB was rather gradual and was completed somewhere in the first half of the 8th century BC.

However, the ceramic horizon of Iron Age IIB does not end with the Neo-Assyrian destruction

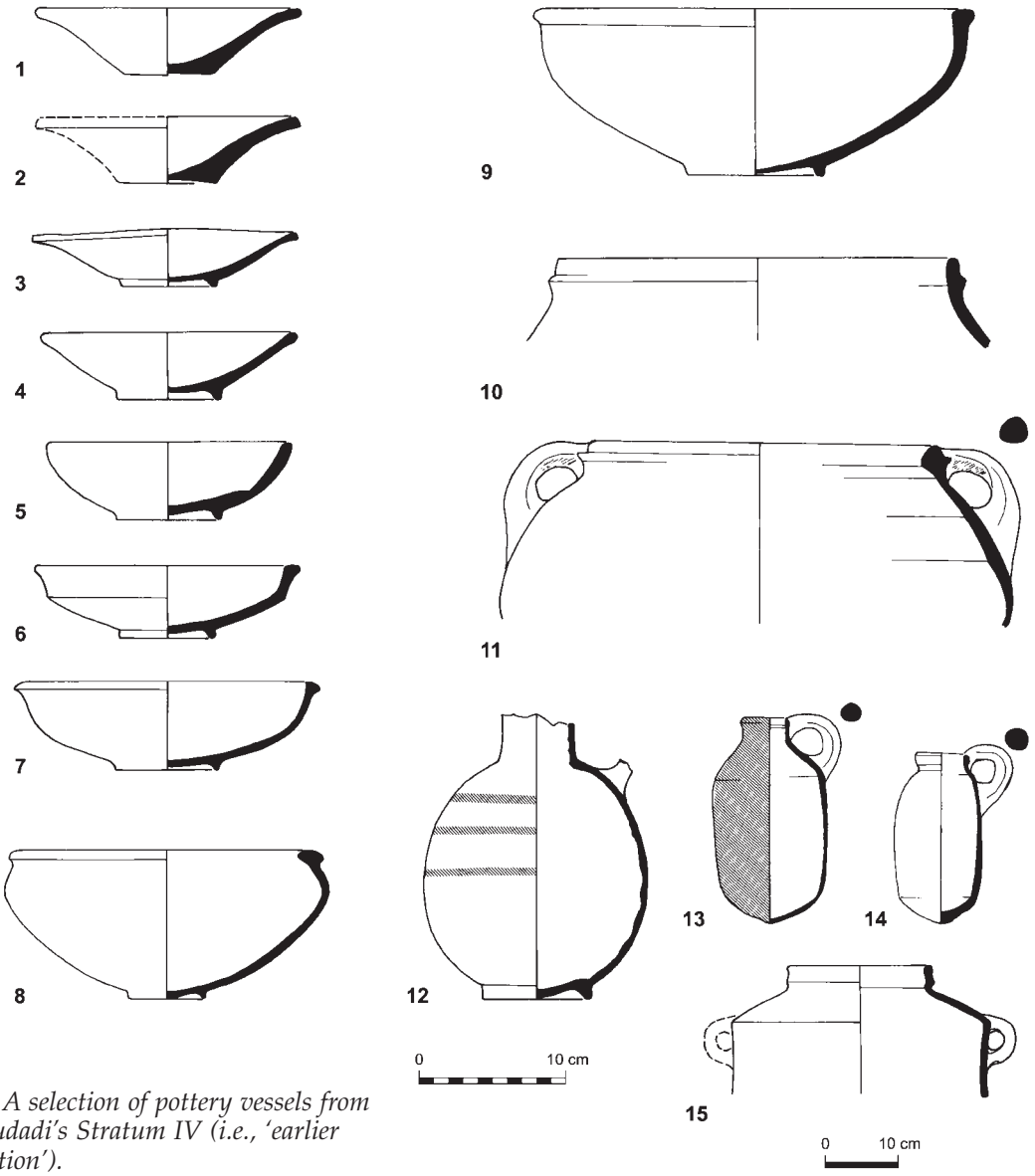


Fig. 5. A selection of pottery vessels from Tell Qudadi's Stratum IV (i.e., 'earlier occupation').

layers toward the end of the 8th century BC, but, most probably, continues at least throughout the first half of the 7th century BC.[29] Like the gradual transition from the assemblages of the Late Iron Age IIA to those of the Iron Age IIB, it may be safely assumed that the transition from the Iron Age IIB assemblages to those uncovered in the Neo-Babylonian destruction layers from the end of the 7th/beginning of the 6th centuries BC (sometimes termed Iron Age IIC) was also gradual and was completed only in the second part of the 7th century BC. This next chronological horizon, which is often referred to as 'Lachish Level II and its parallels', is securely defined in terms of ceramic assemblages, due to its preservation in the Neo-Babylonian destruction layers.[30]

Overall, the ceramic assemblages discovered on the floors and in the fills of the Iron Age fortress of Tell Qudadi, belong to the 'classic' Iron Age IIB period. That is to say both the transitional features of Iron IIA/Iron IIB pottery forms and the forms that characterize the ceramic assemblages from the end of the 7th/beginning of the 6th centuries BC (Iron Age IIC) are basically missing from Tell Qudadi's ceramic repertoire (*figs 5-7*). Such an observation might help to limit the fortress' occupation in broad terms to the second half of the 8th-first half of the 7th centuries BC, corresponding to

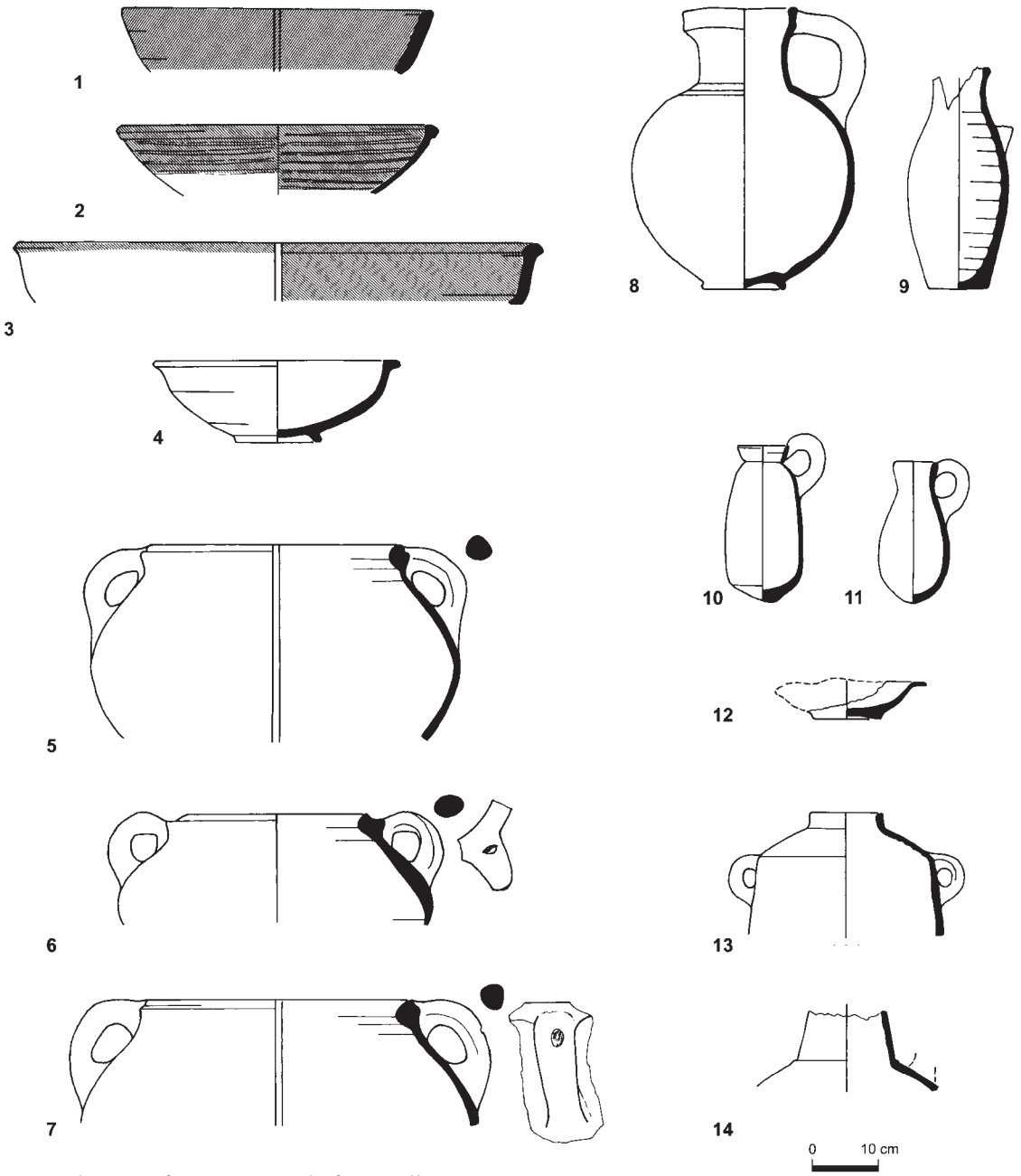


Fig. 6. A selection of pottery vessels from Tell Qudadi's Stratum IIIB (i.e., 'middle occupation' (the Lesbian amphora appears in no 14)).

the period of Neo-Assyrian domination in Palestine.

It is in this context that the Lesbian amphora appears, or more accurately, a rather large fragment of a neck and body of a Lesbian Grey Series transport amphora (*figs 6:14; 8*), discovered within a clear context of what we call Stratum IIIB; that is, the middle occupation layer. This layer represents a rich local assemblage from the occupation level above the first destruction layer of the fortress. Based on the excellent recording in the excavation logbooks, we can even trace the date of this discovery, which was specifically mentioned on February 16, 1938. Thus according to the excavators, parts of the large neck of a grey vase were

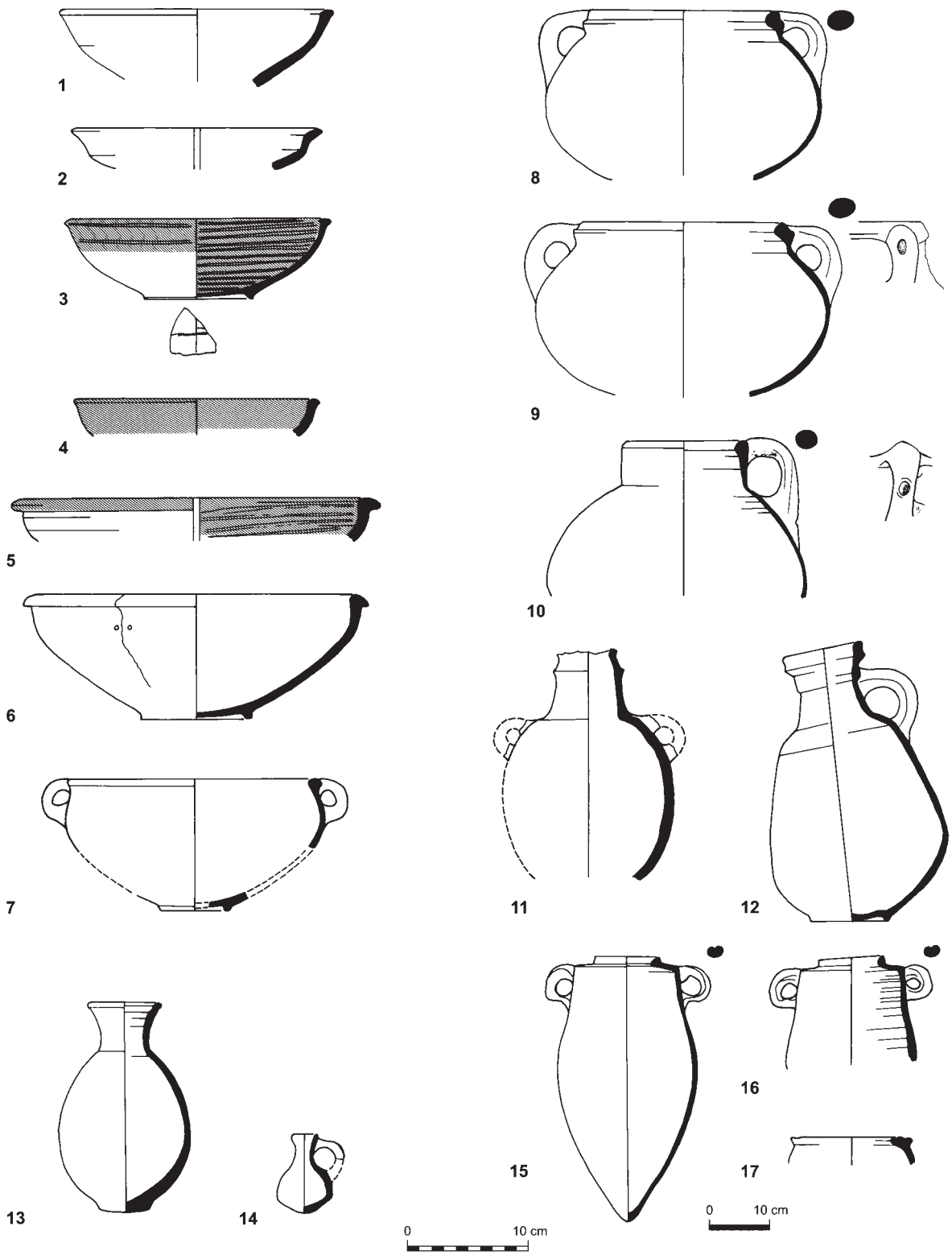
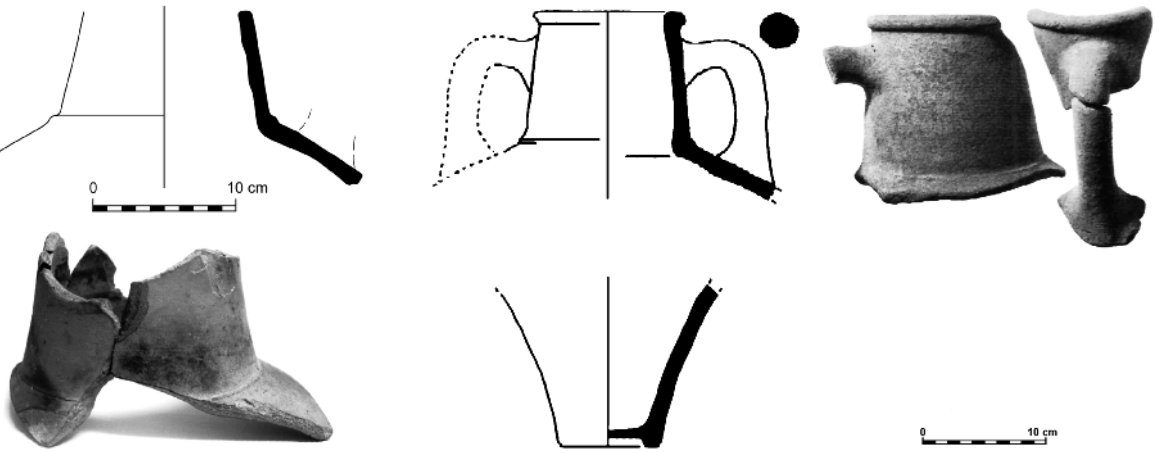


Fig. 7. A selection of pottery vessels from Tell Qudadi's Stratum III (i.e., 'later occupation').

Fig. 8. The Lesbian amphora from Tell Qudadi.

Fig. 9. The Lesbian amphora from Meẓad Ḥashavyahu.



found together with numerous pottery sherds in a clear context, above the first destruction layer and beneath the second destruction layer of the Iron Age fortress. The excavators did not offer any suggestion concerning the place of origin for this piece, other than acknowledging its unusual grey fabric. Taking into consideration the date of the discovery, this is not surprising. Moreover, although the beginning of a handle base and a protruding ridge at the bottom of a trapezoid neck are visible, the amphora was found rimless, making its attribution even more difficult for the excavators. Concerning the place of origin, even today it is not always easy to postulate with certainty if a given Grey Ware pottery fragment was produced in Lesbos or in mainland Aeolis, since the Anatolian pedigree of a grey monochrome fabric is a well-known phenomenon.[31] Although through the ages the Grey Ware was certainly not alien to the Aegean-Balkan milieu,[32] it has been noted that during the Bronze and Iron Age the Grey Ware from Lesbos, for instance, has much more in common with Anatolia than with any other region of mainland Greece.[33] Although some advances have been made recently in identifying various pottery workshops for different types of Grey Ware in Aeolis,[34] our knowledge concerning the workshops of the Grey Ware amphorae is far from satisfactory.[35]

Given the uniqueness of Tell Qudadi's allegedly Lesbian piece, it has been subjected to thin-section analysis (petrography/mineralogy) and neutron activation analysis (NAA). The same analyses were undertaken on a large piece of a Lesbian amphora (*fig. 9*), discovered in the late 7th century BC context at the site of Meẓad Ḥashavyahu, located some 25 kilometers to the south of Tell Qudadi.[36] The

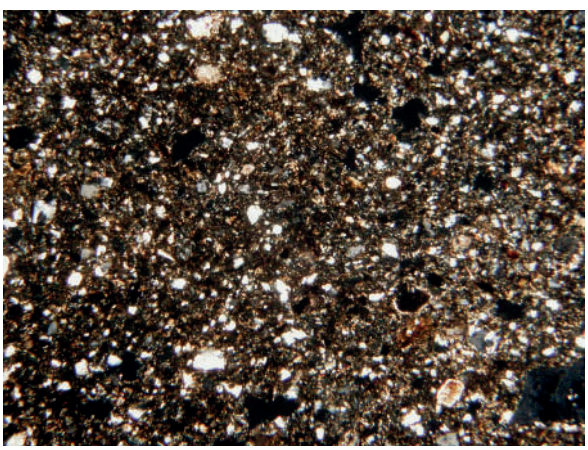


Fig. 10. Thin-section of the Lesbian amphora from Tell Qudadi (width of field 2.5 mm).

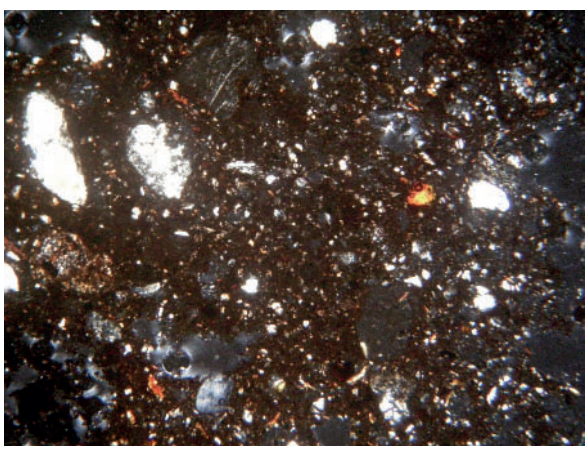


Fig. 11. Thin-section of the Lesbian amphora from Meẓad Ḥashavyahu (width of field 2.5 mm).

petrographic examination conducted by Y. Goren largely confirms the earlier observations made by I.K. Whitbread and D.M. Master concerning the Lesbian fabrics,[37] and shows the following picture:

* Qudadi 362 (*fig. 8* (neck and body)): Dark tan, ferruginous matrix with silt dominated by mica laths, quartz and some epidote. Inclusions contain serpentine, quartzite, plagioclase, biotite mica and crystalline basalt (*fig. 10*).
* Meẓad Ḥashavyahu C 30/1 (*fig. 9* (rim)): Dark tan, ferruginous matrix with silt dominated by mica laths, quartz and some epidote. Inclusions contain serpentine, quartzite, plagioclase, biotite mica and rarely finely crystalline basalt (*fig. 11*).
* Meẓad Ḥashavyahu C 30/2 (*fig. 9* (base)): As Meẓad Ḥashavyahu C 30/1, with additions of some grains of the basalt.

As can be seen above, the fabric of these samples is characterized by dark-grey micromass color, a sandy, well-sorted texture and inclusions of quartz, mica, epidote minerals and metamorphic and volcanic fragments, though rarely presented. These components are typically found throughout northwestern Anatolia and on Lesbos.

The NAA analysis, on the other hand, has yielded an unknown provenance group for both specimens. According to Mommsen, however, the Tell Qudadi piece is made of the same paste (fabric) as that of the above-mentioned amphora from Meẓad Ḥashavyahu. Both pieces are very close in composition, i.e., 18 of the 25 elements have spreads (root mean square deviations = standard deviations) of less than 6% and 8 elements have even less than 3% (*table 1*).

Since the complete profile of Meẓad Ḥashavyahu's amphora is widely considered to be of truly Lesbian origin,[38] we are inclined to believe that the Tell Qudadi piece must necessarily also be attributed to a Lesbian origin. Paradoxically, due to the lack of contemporary NAA analyses from Lesbos,[39] the fact that a particular chemical fingerprint detected in the Grey Series amphorae from Tell Qudadi and Meẓad Ḥashavyahu fits none of the many known chemical pottery profiles from Anatolia strengthens our view that these amphorae were produced in Lesbos. Nevertheless, additional NAA analyses are needed, especially from Lesbos.

The discovery of the amphora from Lesbos in what is clearly an Iron Age IIB context in our region therefore comes as a complete surprise, since it is usually assumed that the production of these amphorae did not begin before the third quarter of the 7th century BC (above). Considering the absolute chronology of the Lesbian amphora from Tell Qudadi, we must take into account that it was found in a clear context of Stratum IIIB, sealed by the second destruction layer (Stratum III), which can not be dated much later than the middle of the 7th century BC. Taking into consideration the period of existence of the second fortress, which came to a violent end at Stratum III, and the length of existence for the occupation level detected in the preceding Stratum IIIB (above the remains of the earlier fortress of Stratum IV), one may safely postulate that the Lesbian amphora from Tell Qudadi was deposited there not later than the very late 8th century BC or the very early 7th century BC. In this regard one should also consider a certain time-span between the production of this vessel on Lesbos and its arrival and depo-

	Meẓad Ḥashavyahu 1 sample (MeHa 1) *factor 1.00*		**Tell Qudadi** 1 sample (QuDa 1) *factor 1.00*		**Averages** 2 samples *factor 1.00*	
	C	± δ(%)	C	± δ(%)	M	± σ(%)
As	17.5	(0.9)	20.6	(0.8)	19.0	(11.)
Ba	1621.	(1.7)	1786.	(1.6)	1702.	(6.7)
Ca %	2.22	(10.)	2.41	(9.1)	2.31	(9.5)
Ce	152.	(1.4)	147.	(1.4)	149.	(2.3)
Co	15.8	(0.7)	15.8	(0.7)	15.8	(0.7)
Cr	84.1	(0.9)	93.4	(0.8)	88.7	(7.2)
Cs	8.91	(1.1)	7.31	(1.2)	8.11	(14.)
Eu	2.00	(1.5)	2.16	(1.4)	2.08	(5.4)
Fe %	4.03	(0.4)	4.38	(0.4)	4.20	(5.6)
Ga	23.2	(18.)	28.6	(14.)	26.1	(16.)
Hf	9.66	(0.8)	9.44	(0.8)	9.55	(1.9)
K %	3.03	(1.8)	2.93	(1.7)	2.98	(2.6)
La	76.6	(0.7)	76.8	(0.7)	76.6	(0.7)
Lu	0.46	(3.8)	0.46	(3.8)	0.46	(3.8)
Na %	2.12	(0.6)	1.80	(0.6)	1.96	(12.)
Nd	51.2	(2.1)	53.1	(2.1)	52.1	(2.4)
Ni	—		91.0	(35.)	91.0	(35.)
Rb	127.	(2.0	122.)	(2.0)	124.	(3.3)
Sb	2.28	(3.9)	1.93	(4.2)	2.10	(12.)
Sc	16.0	(0.1)	14.9	(0.1)	15.4	(5.0)
Sm	8.38	(0.2)	8.96	(0.2)	8.67	(4.5)
Ta	1.20	(2.7)	1.22	(2.7)	1.21	(2.7)
Tb	0.83	(5.7)	0.89	(5.3)	0.86	(5.5)
Th	39.7	(0.3)	39.6	(0.3)	39.7	(0.4)
Ti %	0.48	(20.)	0.42	(23.)	0.45	(22.)
U	5.94	(2.2)	5.61	(2.3)	5.77	(4.3)
W	3.24	(7.2)	3.32	(6.6)	3.28	(6.9)
Yb	3.17	(2.0)	3.36	(1.9)	3.26	(3.9)
Zn	72.7	(2.7)	76.4	(2.6)	74.5	(3.3)
Zr	71.3	(74.)	80.4	(64.)	75.9	(68.)

Table 1. NAA results for amphorae from Meẓad Ḥashavyahu (Reg. No. C30/1) and Tell Qudadi (Reg. No. 362). Concentrations of elements C in µg/g *(ppm), if not indicated otherwise, and experimental counting errors δ in % of C measured by NAA analysis, University of Bonn. The third column pair gives the average concentrations M and spreads σ in % of M.*

sition at Tell Qudadi. The date of circa 700 BC for the production of this piece can therefore not be wide off the mark, making it the earliest Lesbian transport amphora documented so far in the Mediterranean and beyond. This being the case, the fragment of the Lesbian amphora from Tell Qudadi joins the rest of the archaic East Greek amphorae series, which, as stated above, began to appear as early as the second half of the 8th/beginning of the 7th centuries BC. Still, because of their rarity in such early contexts, the production and circulation of these transport amphorae was clearly on a modest scale between the end of the 8th and the end of the 7th centuries BC, and only during the 6th century BC did their production and circulation become widespread.[40]

Notes

* We wish to express our gratitude to Y. Goren, who conducted the thin-section analysis and to H. Mommsen, who conducted the NAA analysis. These analyses have contributed immensely to the present study. Likewise, we are grateful to a number of colleagues who have offered their valuable comments during the preparation of this study: I. Bîrzescu, P. Dupont, B. Hürmüzlü, M. Kerschner, R. Posamentir and U. Schlotzhauer.

1 Clinkenbeard 1982; Abramov 1993; Dupont 1998, 156-163; Monakhov 2003, 43-49; Bîrzescu 2006, 22-56.

2 It should be noted that the Lesbian Grey Series amphorae constitute an integral part of a larger contemporaneous ceramic family, which also includes the series of containers related in shape but made of oxidized clays (Whitbread 1995, 154-155; Dupont 1998, 158-159; Bîrzescu 2005). These oxidized containers, however, are not treated in the present study.

3 Thus according to Cook 1953, 124: 'study of the archaic amphorae shows that the import of wine from Chios and from a centre exporting in grey jars can be dated as far back as the eighth century - in fact to Homeric times'; and see also Cook 1958-1959, 14.

4 Brann 1961, 346, pls. 86, 89, F 80; Clinkenbeard 1982, 249; Dupont 1998, 159. For early material from Lesbos, see also Clinkenbeard 1982, 266, pl. 69a-d (from Antissa (of a 7th to first half of 6th century BCE date)); Spencer 1995, 301, fig. 12 (from Antissa (of a 7th-early 6th century BCE date)).

5 Johnston 1993, 362-363; 2005, 365-367; Csapo/Johnston/Geagan 2000, 124, no 67; 125, no 74.

6 For Metapontum, see Castoldi 1986, Pl. 39.4; Stea 2000, 473, Abb. 322; for a specimen from a cemetery of Siris, accompanied by a Late Protocorinthian cup, see Berlingo 1993, 9, Abb. 16.10; for Pithekoussai, see Di Sandro 1986, 85-86, Sg. 201.

7 Boardman/Hayes 1966, 139, no 1416, pl. 90.

8 Hürmüzlü 2003, 455-456, figs 101/m, 106/m; 2004, 82. It is worth noting that one of these specimens was accompanied by a locally produced Archaic ring-askos, dated to the last third of the 7th century BCE (Güngör 2006, 48, 53, no 3, pl. 1, fig. 3). According to Dupont (pers. comm.), the Archaic cemetery of the Clazomenian colony at Abdera on the Thracian coast has produced a number of late 7th-century BCE grey Lesbian amphorae pieces as well. For excavation reports concerning this cemetery, see Skarlatidou 1986; 2004.

9 Bîrzescu 2006 (and also pers. comm.); an additional piece of what seems to be a late 7th century BCE grey Lesbian amphora was also attested in Taganrog (Kopylov/Larenok 1994, 58, Pl. 12:8).

10 For an example from Meẓad Ḥashavyahu, which consists of a large rim and base fragments, see Fantalkin 2001, 94, fig. 34.2*; for a base and body fragment of probable Lesbian origin from Ashkelon, see Master 2001, 40, 146-147, 155, fig. 2.9.8 (Category 18); Barako 2008, 445, Amphora 15.

11 Sufficient summaries of the majority of the available evidence may be found in Dupont 1998, 159-161; Bîrzescu 2005, 2006. In addition, for the Black Sea area, see Monakhov 1999, 33-60; 2003, 43-49; for Troy and Gordion Aslan 2002; Lawall 2002; 2006, respectively; for quite a number of Lesbian Grey Ware amphorae from Egypt, starting mainly from the 6th century BC and continuing through the Hellenistic period, see Oren 1984, 27 (Migdol); Smoláriková 2002, 25-26 (Migdol), 32 (Heliopolis), 40 (Iuffa), 43 (Qurna); and Şenol 2007 (for the Lesbian amphorae in Hellenistic Egypt).

12 See, e.g., Abramov 1993; Dupont 1998; Twede 2002; Monakhov 2003; Lawall 2004; Seifert 2004; Sezgin 2004.

13 See Docter 2000; Kershner 2000.

14 For sufficient archaeological summaries concerning the beginning of the Greek colonization at the Black Sea area, see, e.g., Boardman 1980, 238-255; 1991; Tsetskhladze 1994, 1998, 2002; Petropoulos 2003, 2005; Opperman 2005; Posamentir 2006; Kerschner 2006a; Dupont 2007; Vachtina 2007. For tracing the beginning of the Greek colonization of the Black Sea area as early as the 8th century BC, based on a limited number of late historical sources, see, e.g., Graham 1958; 1971; 1982, 119; 123; 1990; Drews 1976; Malkin/Shmueli 1988, 23; Gorman 2001, 65-71.

15 Docter 2000.

16 For Cook's suggestion, based on his findings from Smyrna, see above, n. 3. Likewise, in Kommos, some supposedly late 7th-century BC contexts, which included some Lesbian pieces, have yielded the earlier material as well (Johnston 2005, 365, no 206). Moreover, a few pieces of the Lesbian red-fired transport amphora handles were discovered in a 'stratigraphically intriguing' location; that is, in a level that 'is below that of the transition from pure MG to later material' (Johnston 2000, 218, no 108).

17 Also known as Tell esh-Shûna and often erroneously referred to as Tell Kudadi.

18 Yeivin 1960.

19 Avigad 1993.

20 See, e.g., Kaplan 1959, 66, 71; Wright 1985, 212; Mitchell 1991, 336; Becking 1992, 59.

21 Avigad 1993.

22 Tell Qudadi is located on the road that traversed the length of the coastal plain, linking Syria and Phoenicia with Egypt. Historical documents prove that during various periods the main international north-south highway crossed the Aphek Pass at the sources of the Yarkon Stream to the northeast. However, Tell Qudadi apparently controlled the ford of the Yarkon estuary, allowing those who held the site to monitor convoys and travelers who chose the coastal road. Still, there is no doubt that because of its strategic location at the mouth of the river, Tell Qudadi's main purpose was to protect and regulate maritime trade along the central coast of Palestine. The mound also afforded a view of the settlements on the banks of the Yarkon Stream in

antiquity. It is noteworthy that during various historical periods, the Yarkon Stream, being the widest of the country's Mediterranean coastal waterways, was considered a political, social and even cultural border (see Gilboa 2005, 66-67).

[23] This project is currently undertaken by the authors on behalf of the Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University, after receiving publication rights from the Institute of Archaeology of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and the Israel Antiquities Authority.

[24] Fantalkin/Tal 2009.

[25] For Hazor, see Amiran 1969, 'Iron II C - North', 191-293, pls. 60-100, passim, which abundantly but selectively represent strata VII-VA at Hazor. One can also refer to the five volumes (I-V) of the Hazor final reports that were published by season and context resulting in the repetitive appearance of the same pottery types; for Beth-Shean, see Mazar 2006, 313-384, passim, esp. pls 26-42; For Lachish, see Zimhoni 2004, 1789-1899, passim; for comparative assemblages in the Shephelah (Judean foothills), see those of Tel Miqne (Ekron) II and IC, Gitin 1989, and Tel Batash III (Mazar/Panitz-Cohen 2001, esp. 159). For comparative assemblages in the southern coastal plain, see those of Ashdod VIII and VII (Dothan/Porath 1982, 28-41, figs 13-29, passim; Finkelstein/Singer-Avitz 2001, 244-246; idem 2004, 127-131; Ben-Shlomo 2003, 83-107; idem 2005, 63-246.

[26] See, with slight alternations, Mazar/Panitz-Cohen 2001, 274-275; Herzog/Singer-Avitz 2004; Faust 2005; Fantalkin/Finkelstein 2006; Na'aman 2007.

[27] Finkelstein 2008, 502.

[28] For the 14C dates from Beth Shemesh, see Sharon et al. 2007, 40, 44; and for their re-evaluation, see Finkelstein/Piasetzky 2007, 78. For the actual transitional pottery assemblage of Beth-Shemesh 3, see Bunimovitz/Lederman 2006, 419-420.

[29] See Finkelstein 1994; Finkelstein/Na'aman 2004, 72-73.

[30] For the southern coastal plain and the Shephelah, the destruction layer of Ashkelon, which is dated to 604 BC, is of vital importance, and see Stager 1996, 61*-74*; Master 2001; Waldbaum 2002; besides Ashkelon and Lachish II, other chronologically important assemblages include those of Meẓad Ḥashavyahu (Naveh 1962; Fantalkin 2001); Tel Miqne (Ekron) IB (Gitin 1989); and Tel Batash II (Mazar/Panitz-Cohen 2001).

[31] See, e.g., Lamb 1932; Bayne 2000; Coldstream 2003, 262-264.

[32] See, e.g., Jung 2007; Pavúk 2007.

[33] Spencer 1995, 303-305; Rose 2008.

[34] See, e,g., Kerschner 2006b; Mommsen/Pavúk 2007.

[35] Dupont 1998, 158.

[36] For historical significance and chronology of Meẓad Ḥashavyahu's assemblage within the context of Egyptian imperial domination of the coast of Palestine in the last quarter of the 7th century BC, see Fantalkin 2001.

[37] Whitbread 1995, 154-164; Master 2001, 40, 146-147 (Category 18).

[38] See, e.g., Dupont 1998, 159; Bîrzescu 2006, 24-26.

[39] The NAA analysis presented by Clinkenbeard (1982, 261-264, and table on p. 268) is conducted mainly on fragments that lack clear provenance and dates. Out of 18 tested chemical elements, however, some are close in composition to ours, while others are different, attesting to different origins.

[40] Later classical sources point to an excellent reputation for Lesbian wine in antiquity (see Clinkenbeard 1982, 254-256, for a summary). However, it is not entirely clear whether the Lesbian Grey Series amphorae were indeed intended to carry wine. Johnston, for instance, has suggested that the Lesbian Grey Series amphorae may have been used to carry oil, while the oxidized red Lesbian amphorae were used for wine (Johnston 1990, 41-42). Such a suggestion, compelling as it may be (see also Monakhov 2003, 45), should certainly await additional corroboration.

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Deconstructing Ethnicities: Multiple Identities in Archaic and Classical Sicily

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Abstract

The present contribution discusses the notions of acculturation, 'middle ground', and hybridity, suggesting that one should frame in terms of hybridity only those colonial situations whereby volatile overlappings and intertwinings of identities and practices take place, changes in identity are the rule, and fluidity and multiplicity go beyond every static dichotomy. Attention is paid particularly to colonial encounters in archaic and classical Sicily. A reconsideration of the evidence suggests that there are no cogent reasons to think that ethnic differentiation was the most salient line of demarcation. Neither artifacts and practices were primarily characterised by their ethnic origin, nor a straightforward correlation between language and ethnic presence can be taken for granted. More specifically, archeological and inscriptional evidence coming from the settlements of Montagna di Marzo and Morgantina, as well from Castiglione di Ragusa and the Hyblaean region is taken into account. They are hinterland environments located in areas which have often been seen as partially Hellenized, in which the colonial encounters do not seem to have had the effect of crystallizing cultural identities.

*The conclusion seems inevitable that many areas of sixth-century Sicily should be seen in the same way as precolonial Africa is seen by J.-L. Amselle, the French anthropologist who criticized in an inspiring manner the anthropology of identities merely focused on ethnic categories. Those were areas in which ethnic and territorial boundaries were weak or even non existing, where we are not dealing with ethnic entities in contact or with abstract cultures that interact with each other, but rather with local contexts that are 'ensembles flous', as Amselle would say: places where varied relationships and senses of membership coexisted, where the identities were changeable and not ethnically salient, being thus multicultural.**

In the last decades the influence of Hellenocentric assumptions on scholarly discussions of the nature of native-Greek interaction in archaic Sicily has given way to an increasing attention to the complexities of the colonial encounters. The idea of a natural attractiveness of Greek 'superior' culture has been discarded, and acculturation has been acknowledged for many years as a more appropriate notion.[1] Especially the concepts of 'antagonistic acculturation', and of 'differential acculturation' have been seen as more adequate to frame the 'colonial situation' in pluridirectional terms.[2] Nevertheless, one must admit that from a theoretical standpoint the concept of acculturation is to be considered highly questionable in itself, given the more or less implicit evolutionary assumptions it implies beyond the essentialistic and static view of culture it is based on. There is no need to deal at length here with the inadequacies of the acculturation perspective: it has been progressively abandoned since the early 1980s, although it continues in many ways to underpin contemporary views of culture-contact situations, especially as far archaic and classical Sicily is concerned.

New approaches to colonial encounters

More recently, growing attention has been paid to the zones of interaction where two or more cultures overlap, and new cultural realities are in the making that are neither traditional nor acculturated. Richard White's book on the interactions between American Indians and Europeans in the Great lakes area has contributed to widely circulate the notion of 'middle ground' in order to conceptualize an area of culture-contact,[3] and Irad Malkin has interestingly applied it to the Greek West.[4] White's concept, however, is especially meant to involve a process of 'creative misunderstanding' that allows peoples alien to each other to reinterpret the intellectual and social categories they are confronted with to fit their own culture. In this sense it is not well suited to colonial encounters in the archaic Mediterranean: more often than not interaction takes place between cultures that cannot be seen as profoundly different without going back to oppositional classifications (i.e. lower cultures, the local ones vs. higher ones, the culture of the Greek colonists). On the other hand, the explanatory force of the concept of 'middle

ground' would be severely limited by any use of it simply to frame in fashionable terms a culture-contact situation.

Clearly a concept is needed which does not take for granted that culture is fixed and societies are always 'pristine', and allows sufficient scope to individual agency as well as to reinterpretation of practices. Based on Appadurai's anthropology of consumption,[5] many efforts have been made to rethink the cultural encounters in Iron Age France.[6] Moreover, there is an increasing trend to apply to the culture-contact processes of the Mediterranean area the typically postcolonial notion of hybridity.[7] As is well known, Carla Antonaccio has turned to it in order to find an alternative method of interpretation.[8] She takes hybridity as denotating 'a status or quality between colonizer and colonized, a "third space" of "in-between-ness"'.[9] Now, there is no doubt that the concept of hybridity offers a much more productive approach than any monodirectional and evolutionary culture-contact theory, and yet hybridity itself is not free from essentialist presuppositions, insofar as it necessarily sees both Greeks and natives as distinctly marked *ab initio* as representing distinct types of cultures. Hybridity, in other words, while correctly emphasizing the creativity resulting from colonization, still does not question the dichotomy between colonizer and colonized, and it places too heavy an emphasis on the process of culture-contact. Furthermore, if the mixing of cultures, practices and objects is seen as the inescapable result entailed by the process itself, even the hybridity perspective turns out to be prone to the same evolutionary framework as the acculturation models.

In my view, one should better frame in terms of hybridity only those colonial situations whereby volatile overlappings and intertwinings of identities and practices take place, changes in identity are the rule, and fluidity and multiplicity go beyond every static dichotomy.

Let us now turn our attention to colonial encounters in archaic and classical Sicily. A reconsideration of the evidence suggests that there are no cogent reasons to think that ethnic differentiation was the most salient line of demarcation. Neither artifacts and practices were primarily characterised by their ethnic origin, nor a straightforward correlation between language and ethnic presence can be taken for granted. Therefore, we should be wary of assuming ethnic identity as the, or the most important, analytical focus.[10]

Special attention is paid here to some hinterland environments located in areas which have often been seen as partially Hellenized, in which the colonial encounters do not seem to have had the effect of crystallizing cultural identities. Though the case selection is arbitrary, in each one the broader issues can be easily brought to light. I will deal here with the settlements of Montagna di Marzo, Castiglione di Ragusa, and Morgantina.

Fig. 1. Amphora of indigenous manifacture from Montagna di Marzo (after Albanese Procelli 2003, fig. XXXII.1).

Montagna di Marzo

At Montagna di Marzo, a site occupying a commanding hilltop position between Piazza Armerina and Barrafranca (EN),[11] a rich chamber tomb (Tomb East 31) dating to the first half of the 5th century has been unearthed.[12] It contained two sarcophagus burials of élite warriors with complete Greek hoplitic panoplies, sarcophagi of Geloan style,[13] Greek and local wares, Greek wine amphoras, banqueting services, although lacking kraters, and Etruscan and Greek bronzes.[14] Clearly the tomb belongs to a social context that is an integral part of the open-textured Mediterranean world, with all the complexities of widely ranging mutual relationships between groups of different ethnicities inherent to it. And yet, the chamber tomb belongs to a lasting native tradition, as well as the display of wealth within the tomb. In such an isolated place, where the community life was far from being affected by the most typical processes of 'hellenization', both the adoption and the thorough reinterpretation of 'Greek' objects and practices may seem rather astonishing. The inscriptional record clearly shows how particular the processes of cultural interaction running in

Fig. 2. South Eastern Sicily (after Cordano 2002a, 131 fig. 1).

the community were. On the one hand, the use of the Greek script to write the native language is only sporadic and localized; on the other there is evidence for Greek personal names being used in association with local objects and practices, and for Greek language being used and understood. It is important to note that Tomb East 31 contained twelve Greek vases bearing inscriptions in the 'Geloan' modified script constantly deployed at Montagna di Marzo.[15] Native language is used throughout, but some texts have been interpreted as bearing witness to the borrowing of the Greek verb 'to be'.[16] If so, we have before us a very interesting case of infrasentential 'code-mixing'.

Another most intriguing piece of evidence is an inscription on a local amphora of the early 5th century; the text, written in the native (Sikel?) language is unintelligible, but at least the personal name Eurumakes is certain, and another one (Tamura) is probable.[17] Eurumakes could be an unattested Greek name, as Michel Lejeune and Olivier Masson argued;[18] more probably, it is the Greek name Eurymachos adapted to Sikel phonetics, as other scholars convincingly maintain.[19] The second personal name points in this direction, as well as the occurrence of Pratomakes in a curse-tablet of uncertain provenance.[20] We are evidently dealing with 'nativized' Greek personal names, and some kind of multilayered personal identity is at stake here. Other people bore a more purely Greek name, as Geloios, and Eumachos, the men featuring, beside a Sikel female called Aka, in a Greek text painted on a 5th-century hydria of indigenous manufacture.[21] The inscription consists of three erotic acclamations, in which the ludic atmosphere of a social gathering is clearly implied, as well as the coexistence of individuals of different extractions. The inscribed text well matches other evidence coming from southern Italy. One has especially to recall the text in Achaean alphabet and dialect incised on a vase of Greek manufacture found in a tomb of the Etrusco-Campanian necropolis of Fratte di Salerno, near Posidonia.[22] The sexual overtones are not different, as well as the complex background of cultural exchange and personal mobility. Some personal names are Greek, two or three are possibly transcriptions of Italian names, another one is Etruscan. One is led to assume then, that both Montagna di Marzo and Fratte were multilingual and hybrid social environments.

Another piece of evidence from Montagna di Marzo is of great help for understanding the complexities of the cultural exchange at work in the community. A complex Greek text, scratched on an Attic black-glazed kylix of the early 5th century, mentions a *thiasos* of drinkers and a man and a woman bearing Greek personal names. As the nature of the social gathering involved here is absolutely evident, in this case the conclusion is inevitable that a relevant dimension of the Greek sympotic practice was manipulated and transferred to a local tradition of social dining. The inscription, however, would not be out of place in any Greek colonial polis.

Now, if we take into account the very mixed character inherent to social life at Montagna di Marzo, we cannot take for granted that language here is an ethnic indicator. One should refrain, then, from simply classifying the members of the mentioned *thiasos* as Greeks. It seems quite reasonable to assume that the indigenous élites knew the Greek language and consciously adapted it in order to assert a multicultural, or multilayered, identity. As for the personal names in the other two inscriptions, even if Geloios and Eumachos, and, less probably Eurumakes, were Greek immigrants, they surely were profoundly integrated within the local community, and it would be misleading to try to find out their supposed factual ethnic identity. Moreover, we should not put aside the possibility that in such a multilingual community as Montagna di Marzo some Sikels adopted Greek names.

All in all, one must say that there are no reasons to assume that local cultural tradition was giving way to the adoption of a new habitus and a different ethnicity. In other words, one cannot take for granted that local community was becoming

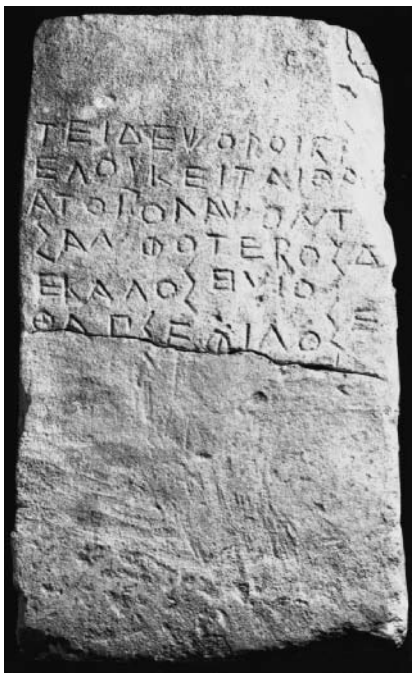

Fig. 3. The so called 'stele from Comiso' (after Sikanie, Milan 1985, 47 fig. 9).

more 'Hellenized'. Instead, what both the archaeological and inscriptional record bear witness to is a very complex interplay between overlapping and multilayered identities.

The Hyblean region and Castiglione di Ragusa

Let us now turn our attention to another area of inland Sicily where indigenous traditions seem to have been very strong. The Hyblean region during the 6th century represents a bastion of Sikel culture, and it can hardly be viewed as a profoudly 'Hellenized' environment. Again, the inscriptional evidence leads us to assume that multiple processes of culture contact and social change were running there and that personal identities were profoundly involved. We probably have here a fluid local context in which close interaction of different cultural codes was the rule, and neither language nor artifacts were deployed in any ethnically salient way. An archaic grave inscription is especially worth recalling here. It comes from ancient Hybla, the Sikel stronghold near Ragusa where the tyrant of Gela Hippocrates almost certainly died:[24] it is a late 6th/early 5th-century fragmentary Greek text, with two personal names, which have been read in different ways, but cannot in any case belong to individuals of Greek extraction.[25] Even though the text is comparable with that of funerary inscriptions from Selinous,[26] its authorship and readership have to be placed in an indigenous social and cultural context. The overall pattern of the deployment of Greek script and language in the area, however, is much more complex.[27] The inscriptional evidence from Castiglione di Ragusa, surely the most important site in the region, is highly relevant here. Castiglione is a hilltop settlement in the hinterland of Camarina, about 20 km to the northwest, in what were known as the Hyblaean hills, strategically placed to manage the routes down to the coastal plain. The settlement is designed along a major avenue and protected by a fortification wall. Formal urban elements are present, but the general layout of the settlement does not adopt any element of Greek urbanism. The only monumental structure is a rectangular building (4 x 12 m) located on the higher terrace at the edge of the habitation area; it compares with similar structures in non-Greek contexts in Sicily, and it was most probably used for religious purposes.[28] The west necropolis is influenced by Greek burial customs, but on the whole the continuity of local tradition is visible and there are no traces of profound acculturative change.[29] There is no reason, therefore, to see Castiglione either as a 'Hellenized' site, or a 'mixed' one. Importantly, however, the inscriptional record shows that Greek language was understood and deployed. The most significant piece of evidence is the so called 'stele from Comiso',[30] in fact probably coming from Castiglione, which bears a Greek funerary epigram in which a son laments the death of his parents. The father, however, must have been a man of Sikel extraction. We do not know how 'mixed' the local community at the time was, but there is no reason to think that the role played by the Greek language was simply a 'by-product' of social dynamics. Even more significantly, there is evidence that a complex phenomenon of linguistic interference took place in the area. The text of an inscription scratched onto a B2 'Ionic cup' runs as follows: ϱεδοϱαι εμι.[31] The first word is a personal indigenous name with an ending which is most probably to be taken as the dative of the Greek ā-stem nouns, while the second word is best seen as a form of the first person of the Greek verb 'to be' typical of 'strict' southern Dorian and common at Crete, Rhodes, and Gela itself. We should have before us, therefore, an ownership formula which differs from the standard Greek one insofar as the dative instead of the genitive is used. The same formula is attested by an inscription on an Attic black-glazed kylix dating back to

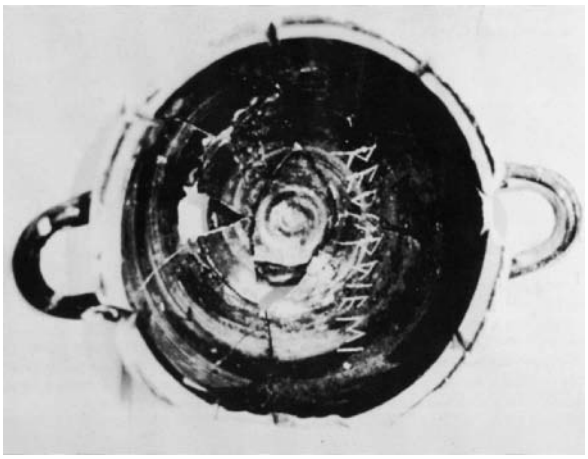

Fig. 4. 'Ionic cup' from Castiglione. Ragusa. Archaeological Museum (photo M. Russo. After Agostiniani/Cordano 2002, 80 fig. 2).

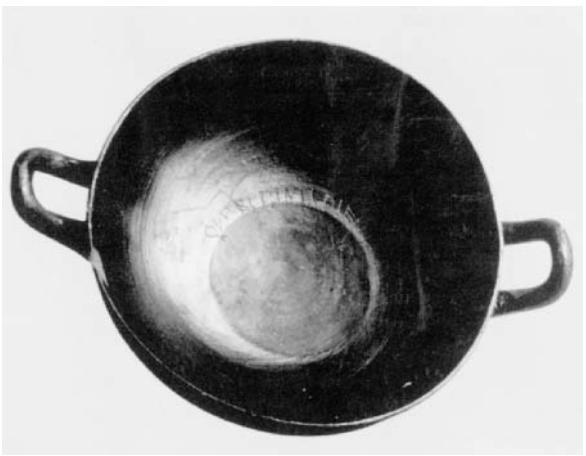

Fig. 5. Attic black-glazed kylix. Grammichele. Museo Comunale, inv. 3646 (photo M. Patané. After Agostiniani/Cordano 2002, 86 fig. 6).

450 BC from Terravecchia di Grammichele,[32] where the owner is clearly a man of Sikel extraction (Ϙυπει Πινιγοι εμι: 'I belong to Kupe Pinigo'), and by a graffito scratched onto the rim of a Laconic krater of the second half of the 6th century from the acropolis of Gela;[33] other 'Sikel' inscriptions simply consist of a personal name with an ending which might be taken as the ending of the Greek ā-stem nouns.[34] Moreover, the use of the dative, instead of the genitive, to state that something belongs to someone is common in the Elymian inscriptions from Segesta.[35] The evidence then, points to a linguistic phenomenon which can be labelled *shift-induced structural interference*, occurring when members of one speaker group shift to another group's language (the target language), using features (on the morphological and/or syntactic level) that are not used by native speakers of the target language. The assumption of course is that the use of the dative to express ownership was common in the native languages of Sicily and that it was the language shift that resulted in changes in the adopted Greek language.[36] If so, the writers of the inscriptions discussed here were bilingual individuals whose Greek was strongly influenced by the native language and its grammatical structures. It is important to note, however, that the phenomenon bears witness both to a process of culture contact and to a superficial knowledge of the Greek language, because such a structural change in the target language tipically occurs when *imperfect second-language* learning plays a role in the process. It is worth highlighting again that even this kind of inscribed texts does not necessarily imply a widespread acculturative change in the native communities involved. A certain degree of bilingualism is to be assumed, but one is led to think that it was an integral part of a complex and multilayered personal identity, and that the bilinguals who wrote the ownership formulas, far from deploying the Greek language in any ethnically salient way, were simply aiming at adding status to an established activity.

The 'Castiglione warrior'

The last document that I will briefly discuss, clearly shows that the acculturative model, as an explicatory tool, is often unsatisfactory.

In 1999 during the course of agricultural activities a bas-relief carved on local stone (of 1.25 m x 0.70 m x 0.23 m) was found in Castiglione.[37] The area of the finding is a necropolis with approximately eighteen tombs, probably the burial place of the élite members of the community.[38] One of these tombs is a huge circular tumulus with a large trench-grave at its centre containing a rich collection of grave goods including Greek wares.[39] The relationship between the relief and the tumulus cannot be taken for granted, but it is very likely that the relief was a part of the architrave of a monumental tomb, as the underside of the limestone is decorated with a horse in relief which would have been visible only from the bottom. The scene shows an armed warrior with a large shield mounting a horse; only the imposing head of the warrior is in the round and frontal. In the same way the head of a sphynx, on the left, and the head of a bull, on the right, are carved in the

round. In the lower left-hand side corner of the scene there is an incised inscription in Greek alphabet.[40] The text runs as follows: τοῖ Πυτίκ(κ)α/ Πυῤ(ῥ)ίνοι/ ἐποίεσε/ Σκύλ(λ)ος: 'for Pyrrhinos son of Pytikkas; Skyllos made it'. The shape of the *iota* and of the *lambda* shows that the script is neither Corinthian nor Chalcidian, and it can well be compared to the Geloan one. As for the dialect, there is at least a clear Doric form, namely the genitive ending in *alpha* of Pytikkas. The shape of the letters can hardly be earlier than the mid 6th century, and the relief is unlikely to be later, too. It is advisable to place both the relief and the inscription in the mid 6th century.

The monument taken as a whole must be considered unique. What is particularly surprising is the juxtaposition of indigenous and Greek traits. The iconography seems to belong to the local tradition, especially if we take into account the positions of the heads - the lateral protomes and the head at the centre - for which there is no equivalent in Greek art. Also the horseman motif is clearly rooted in local tradtion, as well as the emphasis on war and weapons. Above all the heads are to be compared with other heads found on indigenous artworks, in particular the so called 'goddess from Grammichele' and the 'Symaethus goddess'.[41] On the other hand, Greek stylistic traits are also numerous. All in all, the monument seems to be a very hybrid artifact.

The names mentioned in the text are Greek personal names: Skyllos is a common one, and Pyrrhinos belongs to an onomastic series well attested in native settements, from Morgantina to Montagna di Marzo and Sabucina;[42] Pytikkas, the name of Pyrrhinos' father, occurs here for the first time, but it can be taken as a Kurzname that presupposes Pythiketas or Pythikles: the spelling might reflect the phonetics of the dialect spoken in Crete.[43] The date of the monument, the sculptor's signature, and the uniqueness of the Cretan personal name, might well lead us to believe that both Pytikkas and Skyllos were of Greek origin. As for Pyrrhinos, the name seems to be a nickname well suited to a warrior: the Thessalian Alevas the Red is an obvious example, but one has to call attention to 'the red one of the Raelii', the member of a 'South-Picenian' community proclaiming himself to be immortal on an early 5th-century funerary stele found near Lanciano (CH).[44] Pyrrhinos may well have been a Hellenized Sikel, or a Sikelized Greek, and one should also be keen on assuming that he might have been the son of a native woman; be that as it may, it has to be stressed that he was profoundly integrated in an indigenous context. He could have been a mercenary, an individual 'condottiero' active in the frontier of the Greek colonial world, who could have lended his service to the natives of Castiglione, thus living and dying there. The monumental representation conveys a sense of power and prestige, well suited to a man who must have achieved a distinguished position within the ranks of the community, probably due to his military function. Also Skyllos, the sculptor, was probably a man who belonged to two worlds at the same time, as the formal language used in his work shows both Greek and native traits which appear inextricably connected. One might consider Pyrrhinos and Skyllos simply as 'mixhellenes' living and working within an indigenous community, but a debate on the 'real' identity of these men would be out of place; it is clear that it will never be possible to sensibly classify them in ethnic terms, and their identity should be seen as a situational construct, as Patrick Geary would have it:[45] they would have behaved as Greeks among the Greeks, and as natives among the natives. If one century later Douketios, the great Sikel political and military leader,[46] was equally at ease both

Fig. 6. The 'warrior from Castiglione' (after Di Stefano 2002, 30 fig. 15).

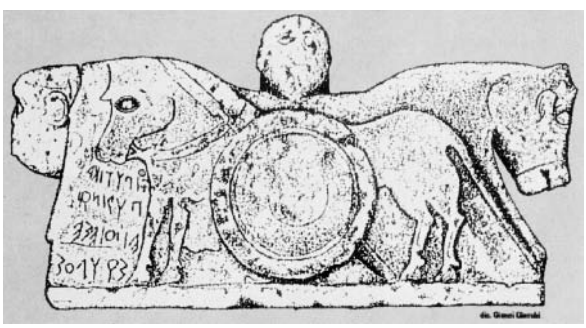

Fig. 7. The 'warrior from Castiglione' (after Di Stefano 2002, 32 fig. 18).

Fig. 8. The 'Symaethus goddess' (after Di Stefano 2002, 45 fig. 30).

Fig. 9. The 'Grammichele goddess' (after Sikanie, Milan 1985, 164 fig. 178).

in the assembly of Syracuse, or in Corinth's agora,[47] and in the sanctuary of the Palikoi,[48] the ancestral Sikel gods, placed in the heart of the indigenous sacred landscape, all the more so we can suppose that in an environment such as Castiglione, where there was no clear divide between Greeks and natives, Pyrrhinos' identity was multiple and fluid.

All this evidently means that there is no way of directly linking either such an ancient and 'hybrid' monument as the 'Warrior of Castiglione', or the phenomena of linguistic interference occurring within the same area, with the intensity of the Greek influence on the indigenous culture. On the contrary, we should be keen on admitting that even in a local environment as such, the hybridizing process, on a cultural and personal level, could have taken place since the beginning. It is likely that those identities could have changed while being multiple and multilayered, and no profound acculturative change is here necessarily a presupposition or a consequence.

Other regions could be taken into consideration and other phenomena could be examined from the same perspective. For example, one could easily show that the adoption of Greek traits in the sacred areas of the indigenous settlements, for example, frequently seems to be more the consequence of a conscious choice of displaying new and more fashionable habits rather than of a general process of cultural contact and acculturation. In the same way, one could discuss the native traditions of 'social drinking' and its changes through the adoption of Greek pottery and wine.[49] Before drawing some conclusions, however, the evidence from Morgantina is worth being briefly taken into consideration.[50]

Morgantina

Since the end of the Seventies Morgantina has played a very important role in our understanding of the nature of the interaction between the Greeks and the Sikels in terms of strong Hellenization of the inland. We have reasons to believe now that 6th-century Morgantina, with its regular urban layout, its Greek architectural traits and new types of tombs in the necropolis, does not represent a new Greek settlement established by means

of force. In fact, the burial customs show a continuity with respect to the Iron Age, and the transformation of the urban layout is only partial. Many innovations can be explained in terms of local commission, and the adoption of Greek cultural traits and objects probably reflects more a new way of expressing pre-existing behavioural patterns and habits than a radical transformation of local culture. In other words, Morgantina carried on native tradition, but in the same time turned to new social practices, to new rites, to a new and larger range of material culture. Apparently, it manipulated its collective identity by appropriating and reshaping Greek cultural traits. It is true that Morgantina underwent important changes, but there is no reason to affirm that this was the effect caused by a supposedly strong influence of neighbouring Greek communities. Other cases are to be found, for example that of M. Saraceno, located in the Low Himera Valley, which demonstrate that regular urban layouts of Greek-style and a prominent native tradition were able to coexist.[51]

'Ensembles flous'

It seems important now, as we reach our conclusions, to make some general considerations. Many areas of 6th-century Sicily should be seen in the same way as pre-colonial Africa is seen by J.-L. Amselle, the French anthropologist who criticized in an inspiring manner the anthropology of identities merely focused on ethnic categories. Many parts of ancient colonial Sicily, therefore, should be conceived as vast areas in which we find a chain of societies that are inserted in a social and cultural continuum. Those were areas in which ethnic and territorial boundaries were weak or even non existing, where we are not dealing with ethnic entities in contact or with abstract cultures that interact with each other, but rather with local contexts that are 'ensembles flous', as Amselle would say: places where varied relationships and senses of membership coexisted, where the identities were changeable and not ethnically salient, being thus multicultural.

Against this background one could sketch a new general interpretation of the highly debated problem of the relationship between Greeks and native Sicilians from the archaic to the classical period. It is high time to set aside the old idea of a growing and gradual unilateral process of Hellenization of native people resulting in the final resistance led by Douketios and, later on, in the definitive integration of the Sikel world. Serious objections, however, could even be made against the more fashionable models of a non-unilateral and complex process of contact between cultures throughout the archaic period, that would have been followed, after the territorial conquests of the Greek tyrants, by a supposedly 'nativistic' reaction by Douketios and his movement.

It would be more consistent with the nature of the evidence to emphasize the multiculturalism that characterized archaic Sicily, a land without rigid borders, where the personal mobility and the unceasing movement of goods and ideas were the rule; a place where strong and exclusive structures of identity were lacking. Then, in the 5th century the conquests of the Greek tyrants radically changed the rules of the game, and the pressure on the indigenous inland communities became particularly strong. In reaction, a collective identity was built by the Sikels, and a radical attempt was made to use the familiarity with the Greek culture in an antagonizing mode. To say it with a paradox, Douketios and the Sikels behaved like Greeks in order to better fight against the Greeks, with the aim of constructing and asserting an identity especially relevant to the political level. Despite the ethnicity-model applied by the ancient sources, we do not know how ethnic the identity they constructed was. We should perhaps recall to mind the immensely penetrating words written by Eduard Freeman more than a century ago in his *History of Sicily*: Douketios 'must have become more and more convinced that the Sikel people could become great only by ceasing to be Sikel',[52] without aiming, however, at becoming Greeks.

Notes

* This is an expanded version of a paper offered in Oxford at the conference 'Changing Habits: the impact of cultural encounters in the ancient Greek world' (30-31th March, 2009), organised by Robert Parker, Lin Foxhall and Robin Osborne. Some of its ideas were first formulated in *Multiculturalism in Archaic Sicily: evidence and models*, a paper presented at the Fifth Meeting of the European Network for the Study of Ancient Greek History (Brown University, 15-17th April, 2005), and in *Contesti ibridi: il guerriero di Castiglione*, a lecture I gave on November 29th, 2007 at the workshop on 'Incontri di culture nell'Italia antica: la documentazione epigrafica' (University of Trento -I). I am grateful for the interest and the comments of all three audiences, and I wish to thank in particular Michael Crawford, Nino Luraghi, Oswyn Murray and Robin Osborne for suggestions and stimuli. Federica Cordano's and Luciano Agostiniani's work on the epigraphy of indigenous Sicily was one of my sources of inspiration. Luisa Cecchet has offered useful comments on the last version: I am much indebted to her patience.

1 Literature on acculturation is enormous; for a histori-

ography of the notion, see Cusick 1998.

[2] See Devereux 1972 (antagonistic acculturation); Herring 1996 (differential acculturation).

[3] White 1991.

[4] Malkin 2002; 2004; on the process of middle grounding in other areas, both in ancient and modern times, see Gosden 2004, 82-113.

[5] Appadurai 1986.

[6] Dietler 1997; 1998; 1999.

[7] Bhabha 1994; Coombes 1994; Gandhi 1998; Werbner and Modood 2000; Kraidy 2005; Stewart 2007.

[8] Antonaccio 2003; 2005.

[9] Antonaccio 2005, 100.

[10] Probably, this is the only limitation of the perspective adopted throughout the best comprehensive study of Sicilian indigenous cultures (Albanese Procelli 2003). Morgan 1999 is also very important; it contains a wealth of discussions of the archeological evidence, and aptly underlines how greatly archaeology contributes 'to instill an invaluable sense of complexity' (144).

[11] See Moreschini 1992.

[12] Mussinano 1970; Albanese Procelli 1999, 349-351 and n. 70-72.

[13] Mussinano 1970, pl. XX.

[14] Albanese Procelli 1999, 349-350 n. 70-71.

[15] Mussinano 1970; Agostiniani 1988-1989, 187-188; see also *SEG* XLIX, 1288.

[16] See Agostiniani 1984-1985, 199-200; 1988-1989, 199.

[17] Manni et al. 1978, 9 (late 6th/early 5th century), 11 (dr.), 12 (Geloan script) pls I, III-IV (ph.); 39-40 (Tamura as 'nativized' form of Greek Thamyris/Thamyras); see also Albanese Procelli 2003, pl. XXXII.1 (ph.).

[18] See Manni et al. 1978, 47-48 (Lejeune), and Dubois 1989, 201 (Masson).

[19] See esp. Agostiniani 1980-1981, 513-514; 1988-1989, 182, 195-196, followed by Hall 2004, 41.

[20] Manganaro 1977, 1335-1338 pls LVII-LVIII; *SEG* XXVII, 656; Dubois 1989, no 176.

[21] Manganaro 1968-1969, 196-197 (ed. pr.), pls XVI, XVII.1; Dubois 1989, no 166. For Geloios as a personal name, see a 5th-century curse tablet (*SEG* IV, 30 and *SEG* XVI, 542) and other later inscriptions, all of them from Camarina (Cordano 1984 (Appendice. Elenco degli antroponimi, nos 85, 86, 87)).

[22] *SEG* XXXVII, n. 817; Arena 1996, no 33.

[23] Manganaro 1968-1969, 198-199 (ed. pr.), pl. XVIII; Dubois 1989, no 167.

[24] See Hdt. 7.155.1; on Hybla Freeman 1891, I 162-64 is most useful; see now Luraghi 1964, 155-156.

[25] Jeffery 1990, 269 no 21, 276, 411; *SEG* XXVI, 1065; see also Bousquet 1964, 382; Gallavotti 1975-1976, 98-99; Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, 155; Brugnone 2008, 24 and n. 52 (apparently unaware of Gallavotti 1975-1976).

[26] The inscriptions are collected and discussed by Lejeune 1970, 16-20; Gallavotti 1975-1976, 96-99, and Brugnone 2008, 22 and n. 15, 23-25.

[27] The evidence is reviewed by Cordano 1993; 2002a; 2002b; Agostiniani 2000; Agostiniani/Cordano 2002; for wider perspectives on native languages in Sicily, see Agostiniani 1988-1989; 1992.

[28] On this quadrangular 'sacred' architecture in Sicily, see Hodos 2006, 105-109.

[29] On the west necropolis see the detailed study of Mercuri 2006; the brief account in Hodos 2006, 117 overemphasizes the adoption of Greek cultural traits.

[30] Pugliese Carratelli 1942 (ed. pr.; ph.); Jeffery 1990, 268-269, 276.17, pl. 51. 17 (dr.); Dubois 1989, no 127 (dr.); Hansen 1983, 147. The account given in Hodos 2006, 152 is misleading.

[31] Cordano 1993, 155 (ed. pr.; ph.); Agostiniani/Cordano 2002, 80 (ph.), 87-9.

[32] Grammichele, Museo Comunale, inv. 3646, from tomb no 219 (Patanè 2006, 17); for the inscription, see Agostiniani/Cordano 2002, 86-87, pls. 6-7 (ed. pr.; ph.); *SEG* LII, 915.

[33] Manni Piraino 1980, 1802-1803 no 40 (dr.), pl. X 40a-XI 40b; Agostiniani 1980-1981, 517-520; 2003, 439-446; the text runs: N]ενδαι εμι Καρμαιοι (the first word should be the Sikel personal name Nendas, which is attested by other 'Sikel' texts coming from Castiglione, Sciri and Montagna di Marzo).

[34] Agostiniani/Cordano 2002, 87-88 mention two inscriptions from the acropolis of Gela (Manni Piraino 1980, no 28, 1794-1795 [dr.], pl. VII 28; no 37, 1800 [dr.], pl. IX 37, discussed in Agostiniani 1980-1981, 517-520), a newly discovered graffito from Terravecchia di Grammichele (83-84, pl. 4-5, ph.), and other texts from Ragusa, Montagna di Marzo and Licodia Eubea.

[35] Agostiniani 1977, 152-156; 1988-1989, 196-97; 2003, 444 n. 72.

[36] See, most penetratingly, Agostiniani/Cordano 2002, 87-89, followed by Hodos 2006, 150-151, and Agostiniani 2003, 439-446.

[37] On the relief see especially Di Stefano 2002.

[38] See Mercuri 2006, 380; there is no reason to take the necropolis as 'Greek' with Di Stefano 2006, 364.

[39] The best discussion is Duday 2006.

[40] *SEG* XLIX, 1273; *SEG* LII, 919; Di Stefano 2000; Manganaro 2001 (ph.); *SEG* LIII.2, 1006. The best discussion of the text is Cordano 2002a.

[41] As acutely remarked by Di Stefano 2002, 42-45.

[42] Lyons 1996, 56-57, pl. 53 (Morgantina), Arena 2002, 55 nos 122a, 122b (Montagna di Marzo), Dubois, 198-199 no 174 (Sabucina).

[43] For a detailed treatment of the onomastic evidence, see A.C. Cassio in Cordano/Di Salvatore 2002, 123-124.

[44] See Marinetti 1985, 224-236, figs 23-32.

[45] Geary 1983.

[46] The best discussion of the movement led by Douketios are Maddoli 1979, 61-67, and Asheri 1992, 161-165; for a general introduction to the subject, see Jackman 2006.

[47] See Diod. Sic. XI 91.4-92.4; XII 8.1-2.

[48] On the sanctuary and the cult, see Freeman 1891, I 164-169; 517-530; Croon 1952; Cusumano 1990; Maniscalco/McConnell 2003, and, most recently, Maniscalco 2008.

[49] For a comprehensive treatment of the topic, see, most recently, Rabinowitz 2004.

[50] On Morgantina suffice it to mention Lyons 1996; Antonaccio 1997; Morgan 1999, 97-109; 113-114; Antonaccio 2005, 98-100.

[51] See Calderone et al. 1996, and, more briefly, Albanese Procelli 2003, 234-235.

[52] Freeman 1891, I 385.

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Symposia Tarentina
The artistic sources of the first Tarentine banqueter terracottas

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Abstract

The archaic terracotta figurine Budapest 77.104.A, belonging to the well-known class of Tarentine votives representing a reclining banqueter, is taken here as a starting point for a discussion concerning the artistic sources that determined the style and iconography of this class at its beginning. A number of comparisons with a wide range of works of art of the 6th century BC help to reconsider the assertion, generally accepted up to now, according to which the theme and the scheme of Tarentine banqueters would have been adapted directly from Eastern Greek art. A thorough stylistic analysis of early Tarentine banqueter types shows, in fact, that Eastern Greek models played a role in the formation of local types only as a part of a more complex whole, in which the impact of Laconian models must have been equally important. In fact, it seems more likely that the ultimate origin of the Tarentine banqueter scheme can be traced back to the art of its metropolis, Sparta. On the other hand, in the second half of the 6th century, an interest for East Greek models can be observed also in Laconian art itself, with strikingly similar results as it is shown by some coroplastic documents in Taras.

1. A Tarentine symposion terracotta in Budapest

A fragmentary Tarentine terracotta figurine of the archaic period is on display among the relics of pre-Roman South Italy in the Collection of Greek and Roman Antiquities of the Budapest Museum of Fine Arts (*figs 1-3*).[1]

Its maximum height preserved is 17,2 cm, its length is 9,5 cm. The piece is made of a light orange colored (Munsell HUE 7.5YR 7/6 - 6/6), medium fine, slightly porous clay, baked medium hard. The figurine is molded with one mould, completely filled with clay, the back smoothed down roughly with a wooden tool. That is, the terracotta was prepared as a solid and fairly flat 'relief with cut edges'. It is likely that all the details formed part of the original mould, perhaps with the only exception of the right hand and the bowl in it, which might have been produced with the help of a separate mould and attached to the freshly molded, leather-hard terracotta figurine. The surface betrays a number of smaller 'accidents' due to the way the craftsman removed the still soft piece from the mould, such as the blurred surface at the lower portion of the tresses on the right, the trace of a nail marking unintentionally the chin just under the lips, and the truncated point of the nose, most probably lost as this protruding element got stuck in the mould. All these inaccuracies would have been hidden by the thick coating and painting that originally covered the piece, of which only some remains of the white paint are preserved.

The figurine is fragmentary: the lower part of the body is missing from the waist onwards, on its right, only shoulder and hand are preserved, while the left hand is incomplete, together with the lyre it is holding. The point of the mantle hanging down from the left elbow is missing, too. We cannot know if the composition included also a couch or some sort of 'abbreviation' of it, anyway the piece does not preserve any trace of it today. It was broken in three fragments and reassembled in modern times.

The whole composition can be reconstructed on the base of other pieces of roughly the same date, such as the terracotta no 20047 of the National Museum of Taranto (*fig. 4*)[2] or no 1660 of the Allard Pierson Museum, Amsterdam.[3]

It represents a man reclining on his left elbow in the typical pose of a banqueter. Following the most recurrent typology, the banqueter represented by the Budapest figurine must have been reclining with the right leg bent at knee and the left stretched out, the pelvis turned towards to the spectator in a fully frontal view, and the upper body lifted to an almost perfectly upright position, lifted by the vertical left upper arm. Above the horizontal line of the shoulders, the head, modeled in a much deeper relief, is supported by a flat element substituting the neck. This element can be regarded more properly as a relief representing the neck and the three tresses falling down on each side of it; this is the weakest point of all the pieces of this group of terracottas, where the need for a realistic representation comes in conflict in the most evident way with the obstacles inherent to the technique of this genre. In the case of our figurine, the head and the neck are united in one

Figs 1-3. Terracotta figurine of a banqueter, Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts (photos László Mátyus).

inversed U shaped element, the surface of which is simply smoothed down on the top and on the sides without modeling. Above the forehead, a slightly prominent band is delimited by two grooves, and probably represents a ribbon or diadem, in a way quite usual in the case of female figures, especially *protomai*. Under this 'band' the forehead is encircled by a fringe of hair in the shape of an almost perfect semicircle, composed by a sequence of short 'tongues' of the same length ending at both sides with the slightly bigger and faded patches of the ears. On each side of the neck, three tresses, reduced to a row of small globes, fall down to the shoulder of the figure and are spread on the chest in a fan-like pattern. Roughly half of the bust is covered by a himation, draped in oblique and curved folds from the left shoulder and upper arm towards the hip, leaving uncovered the pectorals of the right half and the right shoulder; the left forearm is naked, too, the edge of the mantle being rolled up under the left elbow and falling down from it in a thick, vertical bunch. The left hand, resting on the hip with rigidly stretched fingers, holds a lyre, its drum, without indication of any further details, is to be seen below the forearm, while its chords are hidden by the hand. The right arm is bent back against the chest, the hand holding a ribbed bowl (*phiale*) between the thumb and the outstretched fingers.

The modeler must have neglected deliberately several details of the face, reserving them to painting. Nevertheless, the basic structure of a characteristic physiognomy can be clearly recognized. The structure of this large, smiling face, which also appears to be essentially rounded at a first sight, is fundamentally determined by the converging planes of the eyes and the cheeks. Opposed to the large and flat arch of the forehead, the lower portion of the face visibly tapers downwards; thus, the arches of the eyebrows and the edges of the chin define a regular trapezoid, turned upside down. The slightly oblique position of the large,

Fig. 4. Terracotta figurine of a banqueter, Taranto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale (photo László Mátyus).

Fig. 5. Small bronze banqueter from Samos, Frankfurt, Liebighaus. Detail: frontal view of face (Walter-Karydi 1985, fig. 27,3).

*Fig. 6. Colossal kouros from Samos, Vathy Museum. Detail: profile view of face (*Samos *X, pl. 27).*

smooth, almond-shaped eyes and of the swelling cheeks produces a fluent transition between the frontal and the side planes of the head, the traits being all convergent towards the short and slanting nose. The mouth is composed of short lips, slightly curving upwards at the edges, placed almost immediately under the nose, sunken into the circle delimited by the full cheeks and the small but markedly protruding chin. The relief of the profile view is characterized in its lower portion by the dimples encircling the mouth, and in the upper part by the sliding and continuous line going from the front to the tip of the nose.

There are two more exemplars of the coroplastic type[4] of Budapest 77.104.A, which, however, do not provide us with any further information concerning the rest of the composition and its possible variants: the two figurine heads of identical appearance,[5] broken off at the neck, form part of the collection of Tarentine terracotta fragments entered in the Louvre as a gift of F. Lenormant. They simply show that the Budapest banqueter belongs to a Tarentine type, represented at least by two exemplars in the votive deposits of the town discovered between 1879 and 1881.[6] The much less precise provenance of the Budapest terracotta matches with the data concerning the origin of the two small fragments of the Louvre: according to the Museum registers it comes from the collection of Dr. Lóránt Basch, which contained a number of terracottas acquired through the collector's sister, who lived in Italy for a time.

Although for the moment no further exemplars are known of this type, these facts, together with the physical and technical characteristics of the piece prove beyond doubt that we have to do with a typical creation of the Tarentine votive terracotta production, an early banqueter composition. Tarentine 'reliefs' - with a more appropriate term: half figurines of outstretched composition - representing a banqueting male figure (a beardless youth like in the type of the Budapest terracotta or a bearded, thus mature man) were the most popular kind of votive offerings in the city-state's sanctuaries and an essential class of local terracotta production, from the late archaic period down to the end of the 4th century BC.[7] To judge from the evidence provided by the thousands of exemplars preserved to our days (mostly fragments), local craftsmen formulated and reformulated the theme of the reclining man many times during these two centuries or more, in reliance on the changing stylistic tendencies of Greek sculpture and on their personal artistic training and view. It must be observed, too, on the other hand that the iconographic scheme of these compositions remained almost unchanged during these generations which can perhaps be explained in terms of the constraints of the religious cult, in connection with which these pieces were used. For example, these Tarentine terracottas always tended to represent only one male banqueter each and not a couple or a company of symposiasts.[8] We should also notice the outstretched posture of the figure, turning towards the spectator in a not very realistic way, which is found also in the more realistic compositions of the classical period. The drapery pattern is basically identical throughout almost the whole production (a mantle covering the bigger half of the chest, leaving the right arm naked and enveloping the lower body), although the stylistic approach naturally changed from time to time. From the archaic period onwards, an obligatory element of the iconographical scheme of Tarentine banqueter compositions is constituted by a complicated head-gear, composed by more or less stylized floral motifs, which is still not to be found on the Budapest exemplar, an early piece of the class.

Since they were first discovered at the end of the 19th century, Tarentine banqueter terracottas have been studied on several occasions. The direction of research, however, mostly focused on questions concerning their iconographic and religious interpretation.[9] With respect to the origin, possible artistic sources and starting date of this series, the similar reconstructions advanced by R.A. Higgins[10] and H. Herdejürgen,[11] published at about the same time, were generally accepted, practically without discussion by the authors of later publications, although both scholars based their conclusions on rather limited evidence. It seems that the question is worth revisiting now in the light of other, more recently published groups of Tarentine terracottas[12] and especially given the opportunity I have had to acquire a familiarity with the mostly unpublished material of the National Museum of Taranto and some other collections.

2. Samian style faces and banqueters

The objective of the following analyses is to locate the coroplastic type of the Budapest banqueter figurine and some other Tarentine types of the same date in the history of archaic Greek art, with the help of a network of precise correspondences which are likely to provide us with a more coherent picture of those multiple artistic impulses that could be perceived and assimilated by the craftsmen of this overseas Greek colony. Most of our comparisons will be taken from outside the area of terracotta sculpture, and often even from out-

side the field of small scale sculpture. It seems likely, in fact, that the artistic sources of our late archaic Tarentine modelers should be sought among the extant remains of Greek artistic production of their own period without regard to genre, technique, or scale.

Although this approach is far from being generally accepted today, the comparison of sculptural remains of different scales and materials seems to be a useful method, more and more convincingly, as far as the archaic period of Greek art is concerned.[13] In fact, marbles, which are rare in several regions of the Greek world, and bronzes, which are usually most difficult to attribute to a given place, show us no more of the artistic production of their age than the tip of an iceberg; that is why the rich documentary material of terracotta-sculpture has to be taken into account in order to try to fill in the inevitable gaps of our knowledge. Divergences due to differences of scale and technique are of course to be recognized in each case, but we should also consider that among the conditions of archaic Greek society a craftsman working a cheap material and another, who was perhaps the creator of works of art of a more expensive category or of a larger scale (in the view of their times both considered as 'artisans'), were separated by a gap that was certainly less important than the connection established between them by the community of their *poleis* and commissioners. We have to admit to possess very scanty information concerning the working method of the archaic workshops, both small and large scale, and this is particularly true as far as the method of teaching apprentices is concerned; nevertheless, on the ground of the evidence of archaic local styles it is likely that, in all the centers where characteristic local stylistic solutions were invented for the most popular themes, these became dominant 'formulae' for a while in several artistic genres, and were adopted as a point of emulation among craftsmen, at different levels of quality, according to their individual skills and creativity.

Until the end of the 6th century BC Tarentine craftsmen were not in possession of such a unique local stylistic dialect of their own, as far as we can judge from the eclectic character of the hundreds of terracottas, the few marble fragments[14] and the bronzes,[15] which can be attributed more or less convincingly to this city. The town of the Laconian Parthenioi freely accepted any kind of stylistic models, which arrived to its harbor from the Aegean or from the neighboring Western Greek world. Through the groups of votive terracottas we can observe, however, a degree of selection that clay modelers made consciously among stylistic models available to them. Apparently they made use of different traditions deriving from Aegean Greece, at times even simultaneously, perhaps everyone depending on his own origin or training. In this eclectic picture it is especially useful to observe which of the multiple 'motherland' traditions became dominant in Tarentum, and which were the sources of the elements that made up those new syntheses that in the end merit the name of 'original local artistic creations'.

The physiognomy of the coroplastic type represented by Budapest 77.104.A and by the two heads from the Louvre - a type of face which can be promptly recognized in spite of the negligent modeling of some details - can be easily assigned to one of the best known stylistic groups of the East Greek world, which can be attributed in all likelihood to Samos. The connection of our Tarentine banqueter heads with this context can be clearly illustrated by a comparison with two, almost randomly chosen exemplars: for example, with the head of a Samian small scale bronze statuette (*fig. 5*)[16] and, even with the face of the colossal kouros of Isches found on Samos (*fig. 6*).[17] This stylistic formula of representation of the human face, with a characteristic ensemble of large, curving contours and convergent planes, is to be found practically always in this same structural unity, in a good deal of sculptural creations, with no regard to scale and material. This group of representations was associated with Samos by F. Croissant, whose analyses were based on a group of terracotta *protomai*.[18] It was also demonstrated that this formula had been established at the latest in the second quarter of the 6th century BC,[19] and then was reproduced again and again during the second half of the century in a wide range of genres and dimensions by artists and craftsmen of Samos or of Samian training, even if not necessarily working on the island themselves.[20] Thus, different versions of this stylistic scheme appear regularly in Western Greek archaeological contexts of the 6th century BC. It seems to make part of the visual culture of several 'overseas' communities, without ever becoming an exclusive or even a dominant scheme of representation in the coroplastic repertories of South Italy and Sicily, which seem to be essentially eclectic in this time.[21]

We can observe a similar situation in the repertory of Tarentine banqueters, too: here for the moment the coroplastic type of Budapest 77.104.A is the only known face of Samian style. On the other hand, in the repertory of types created rough-

ly in the same period we find at least three others which are closely related to another stylistic group of the East Greek world, developed in the immediate neighborhood of Samian, and perhaps through a certain rivalry with the former. These large faces, encircled by almost perfectly round contours, are not characterized by the convergence of traits and fluent transition of planes, typical of Samian, but on the contrary by a rigid separation of the frontal plane and the sides, as well as by a monotonous articulation of the face by a series of horizontal traits; this scheme seems to be connected most probably to Miletus and the sanctuary of Apollo at Didyma.[22] Two more Tarentine coroplastic types, fortunately, each represented by one complete figurine (Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum, inv. no 1160 and Taranto, inv. no 20047, here *fig. 4*),[23] can be considered as two sculptural creations of exceptional quality, a synthesis of apparently heterogeneous models borrowed from different Greek centers; their faces represent however a particular, local interpretation of Milesian models.[24]

In a most unusual way, up to this point we only have been dealing with the style of heads and faces of the coroplastic types that were taken into consideration. This approach may be particularly surprising, if we take in account the fact that Greek art usually viewed and represented the human figure as a whole. However, as far as the Tarentine terracotta production is concerned, a number of considerations suggest that the modelers of this class of artistic production did not follow this rule so strictly. First of all, we should make an observation of a technical kind, namely that already as early as in the second half of the 6th century BC some of the figurines were produced with the help of at least two separate moulds, one for the head and one for the rest of the composition, attached to the whole composition only after the molding. This technical solution permitted variations in the combination of faces and iconographical frames and perhaps also resulted in the fact that there were in use less types of full compositions than types of faces in the same period.[25] Secondly, as it is shown especially by the coroplastic type we are dealing with, and by its contemporaries, it seems that even Tarentine modelers did not consider these figurines to be esthetically uniform: while the faces were modeled with a regard to the mentioned stylistic formulas, the bodies were given a form following clearly different models.

This statement may be illustrated in a particularly convincing manner with the coroplastic type of our banqueter of Budapest. As already observed, the face of this type of banqueter follows - for the moment uniquely in the whole Tarentine repertory - the stylistic formula of Samos. Thus, it is linked in some way to the center where we find the earliest exemplar and, as it seems, the starting point of the most widely diffused formula of the sculptural representation of a reclining man in archaic Greek art. The earliest known sculptural scheme for the theme of a reclining man, leaning on one elbow and holding a drinking vessel in one hand is in fact the '…*ilarches*' statue of Samian Geneleos, the figure representing the commissioner of the famous six figure monument in the Samian Hera sanctuary (*fig. 7*).[26] The group of Geneleos was probably produced towards 560 BC. Its preserved figures show that the sculptor worked within the frames of an already established Samian tradition in the case of the korai and the sitting figure (that is to say, a tradition which can be traced back at least until the two korai of Cheramyes); he introduced a slight, but not indifferent change in the case of the standing youth, while with the figure of the reclining man he created a new sculptural type which might be considered to be his personal achievement, although it was certainly rooted in the tradition of his homeland.[27] It can be asserted at least that the numerous terracottas and some small bronzes, produced in the second half of the 6th century BC, which repeat very precisely the pose and the proportions of '…*ilarches*', all may have been inspired by the statue of Geneleos. If this is the case, we have here a whole series of identical sculptural creations, connected with the same place and apparently depending on the personal creativity of one man, working in large scale sculpture who also wanted his name to be conserved by his signature. In any case, it must be observed, that there is no other sculptural scheme of the banqueter type in archaic Greece that is as homogeneous and copious in the mean time, as this 'Samian style' group.[28] For the sake of comparison, we can introduce a bronze exemplar here, conserved in Frankfurt[29] (*fig. 8*): this statuette reproduces the pose and the proportions of Geneleos' reclining figure with the usual fidelity, which is to be found also in the other works of this group.

We could conclude here with the statement that the thesis formulated by Higgins and Herdejürgen and generally accepted since then,[30] according to which Tarentine modelers borrowed both the iconographical type and the stylistic solution of their banqueters from 'Ionian art', simply needs to be formulated in a more precise way, as we

have now identified their source with Samian art and even more precisely with the sculptural type of Geneleos' '…*ilarches*'. But a review of the Tarentine coroplastic types mentioned above is sufficient to show that this assertion would be oversimplistic, if not utterly mistaken: alongside with the unique Samian physiognomy represented in Tarentum by the Budapest figurine and by the two heads in the Louvre, we can point out at least three others, which are connected with another stylistic tradition, although still an East Greek one.[31]

But there is also a more interesting observation that we can make by comparing the whole figures (not only heads), from a stylistic point of view. The Budapest banqueter terracotta (*figs 1-3*) is the best preserved exemplar of its type known to us; it is rather fragmentary, but it allows nevertheless some basic observations concerning the whole composition. Thus, it is evident, judging from the right hand holding the phiale before the chest, that this figure was not conceived following the same concept which is to be found behind the 'Geneleos style' or 'Samian' banqueters: that is to say, that we do not find here the same pose with the legs bent together at the knee and pulled back towards the chest, embraced by the right arm, the latter playing the role of a curving, oblique hoop assuring the transition between the rounded shoulders and the protruding volume of the knees, as can be observed in the reclining figures in the Samian style. On the contrary, as it has been mentioned above, the pose of the Budapest figurine was almost certainly identical with that illustrated for example in the statuette no 20047 of the National Museum of Taranto (*fig. 4*).

*Fig. 7. The commissioner's figure from the Geneleos group in Samos, represented as a banqueter (*Samos *XI, pl. 52).*

Fig. 8. Bronze figurine of banqueter from Samos, Frankfurt, Liebighaus (Walter-Karydi 1985, fig. 27,3).

Another version of the same scheme, certainly an earlier one, is represented by the terracotta no 2111 of Taranto, an almost complete banqueter figurine (*fig. 9*).[32] Its most conspicuous trait is its outstretched composition, which is particularly obvious if one looks at the triangular surface covered by the drapery of the mantle falling down from the right knee, enclosed by the right leg, bent at knee and pulled back, resting however within the plan of the bust and the left leg, which is here stretched out horizontally. The hands, bent before the body holding the accessories of the banquet, do not interrupt the shallow bas-relief character of this one-plan composition, with their outstretched fingers attached to the bust and with the arms of a rigidly strait pose. In sum, while the principal characteristics of the Samian sculptural type of the reclining man were precisely the three dimensional approach, the stressing of dynamically overlapping, rounded forms, the fluidity of transitions between planes, here, in the case of the first Tarentine representations of the same subject, the composition seems to follow the opposite of this logic and moreover, to be conceived for two dimensions. The choice of this two-dimensional conception can not be explained simply by the technical limits of molded terracottas: while Tarentine banqueter figurines are molded with the help of only one mould, representing the frontal view, and so certainly meant to be viewed only from this perspective, those following the Samian sculptural type, although they are also molded, have the same three-dimensional character that can be observed in the case of bronze and stone exemplars of their group; these terracottas are modeled also on the back side and, in spite of all the scarcity of their quality, they were clearly meant to be representations in the round.[33]

Figs 9-11. Terracotta figurine of a banqueter, Taranto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale (photo László Mátyus).

3. Tarentine types depending on Laconian models

Summing up the results of the observations made up to this point, we can state that in the case of some early types of banqueters, Tarentine artisans referred to East-Greek models for a stylistic formula for the face (more precisely, these models seem to have been mostly Milesian, and for the moment only in one case certainly Samian). But it can be excluded that the whole composition could be modeled directly on the scheme of the well-

Figs 12-13. Terracotta head of a banqueter, Paris, Musée du Louvre (photos author).

Figs 14-15. Mirror handle in the form of a naked girl, Berlin, Staatliche Museen. Details: frontal and profile view of the head (Herfort-Koch 1986, pl. 7,7-8).

*Fig. 16. Female head ending of a bronze hydria handle, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (*BABesch *69).*

Figs 17-18. Terracotta head of a banqueter, Taranto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale (photo László Mátyus).

Fig. 19. Bronze figurine of a running woman, Palermo, Museo Archeologico A. Salinas (Rolley 1967, fig. 103).

known sculptural type established by Geneleos. I shall introduce, in the following pages, an alternative theory concerning the first artistic sources of this Tarentine class, based on the above mentioned early banqueter of Taranto and a group of further Tarentine coroplastic types, closely related to it.

The banqueter no 2111 of the National Museum of Taranto, of a rather weird appearance at first sight and quite rudimentary in many respects (*fig. 9*), was inspired with all probability by models coming from another center of the archaic Greek world. Iconographical elements, pose and drapery (a himation draped over the left arm and the left side of the chest, but leaving naked more than half of the bust on the right) are the opposite of

Fig. 20. Cup by the Naukratis Painter, Paris, Musée du Louvre. Detail: figure of a banqueter (Stibbe 1972, pl. VI).

what is seen in Samian banqueters, of roundish forms and wrapped in their draperies. On the other hand, this scheme coincides with the corresponding details of the Tarentine banqueter compositions of the same period, illustrated here by figs 1-4, though the execution itself, that is to say, the modeling of details is reasonably different from one to another. The modeler of Taranto 2111, for example, was apparently not interested at all in the details of drapery: he transformed the mantle into one smooth sheet of hardly plausible form on the left side of the chest, while he found it important to show the relief of the pectorals and even the clavicles and the muscles of the upper arm. In contrast to the tresses reproduced in detailed relief of the two other Tarentine types, this figure has two formless clay elements, roughly smoothed down on the two sides of the face, strengthening the neck and connecting it to the shoulders.

The analysis should begin once again with the head and the face (*figs 10-11*). The long and pointed oval contour of Taranto 2111's face is conspicuously different both from the large and curving Samian and from the flat and circular Milesian faces. After all, the head of this banqueter is a volume of ovoid shape, pointed at one extremity and a bit 'flattened' on the frontal side, although the surface is still slightly curved here, too, with a suddenly jutting nose, but otherwise not disturbed by the other traits, nor by the elongated almond-shaped eyes of oblique position, nor by the short, straight mouth, nor by the long, vertical chin. Above the rather low forehead the ovoid is crowned with a typically stylized hairdo, represented by a range of small 'tongues' of uniform length.

For the moment, the banqueter Taranto 2111 is the only known exemplar of its coroplastic type. We find however several faces of a similar structure in the Tarentine repertory. Another type, much stylized, is represented by two heads in the Louvre (*figs 12-13*);[34] still another by the head no 740 of the National Museum of Taranto (*figs 17-18*).[35] Finally, we can probably assign to this tradition a type and its variants represented by a long series of small scale and bad quality pieces.[36] Thus, alongside the different physiognomies of East Greek origin, there is also another group of faces, in which Taranto 2111 is to be considered probably the starting point of the series. It is certainly a rather rare formula for the interpretation of the forms of human face, in any case less widespread in the archaic Greek world than the East Greek ones mentioned above; however, as we have seen, there is a good number of closely or partially related face types in the copious Tarentine terracotta production. There is anyway an even closer connection between the face of the banqueter figure in question and those of some small scale bronzes, which can reasonably connected to Sparta, although they do not represent the most common physiognomy version of Laconian sculpture.

The best comparison is the one offered by a bronze mirror handle, conserved now in Berlin, in the form of a naked girl, with a characteristic face of pointed oval shape, with a short, suddenly jutting nose, breaking the surface of the frontal plane and with narrow almond-shaped eyes, encircled by a fine relief contour, but very similar in proportion and position to the eyes of our Tarentine banqueter (*figs 14-15*).[37] Although the Spartan provenance of the piece is recorded only by a note in the museum registers, scholars dealing with it never doubted, except for one isolated tentative,[38] that it was one of the small masterpieces of 6th century BC Laconian bronze craft. The genre of the mirror handles in the shape of a naked adolescent girl is in fact by itself a Laconian specialty, to be explained with the phenomena of local cult and belief, without parallel in the bronze craft of any other Greek center.[39] The handle-girl of Berlin can be inserted easily in this Spartan group both from a typological and an iconographic point of view; the dates proposed for her oscillate in the central decades of the 6th century BC.[40] On the other hand, stylistically she is not a commonplace exemplar of her series: the characteristic face, so closely related to our Tarentine group, is not among the most usual physiognomies of Laconian art.

Nevertheless, it is in this context that we find the closest parallels for it, among which some examples, which can be considered forerunners of the stylistic solution that we do not see until the middle of the 6th century BC in its fully developed form: so, for example, the female head adorning the vertical handle of the Rosenbaum hydria (*fig. 16*), a vase, which finds its place among the vases of the Telesstas hydriae on the ground of its shape. C.M. Stibbe, who published it more than once, connected it without doubt to Sparta, although he was apparently less sure about its dating, which varies from the third to the last quarter of the 7th century BC.[41] The reason behind this contradiction in the dating may be explained by the fact that Stibbe tried to insert this face in one of the known phases of 'Daedalic style' (first in the middle, later in the last one), certainly on the ground of its typical, pointed oval outline. It seems however that this face does not correspond precisely to the criteria of any of the 'Daedalic' phases, if we consider its eyes of realistic proportion, its clearly modeled ears and its short, but rather full and realistic lips. In other words, the structure itself cannot be explained simply with the tradition of 'Daedalic style', but should be considered more correctly as a stylistic formula of Laconian art, which does not indicate a chronological period, but seems to continue in the physiognomies of creations as the banqueter Taranto 2111.

Beside the mentioned Tarentine coroplastic types there are at least two more documents which can be connected to this circle: two bronzes produced by Laconian or at least by a 'laconianizing' Western Greek workshop. The first one is another hydria handle, i.e. the figural ornament of the Schimmel hydria, found by W. Helbig in Capua and today conserved in Jerusalem, which appears as a 'rustic' version of the face of Taranto 2111, exaggerating its typical features in a caricature-like way.[42] To these we can add another comparison: the coroplastic type of no 740 of the National Museum of Taranto (*figs 17-18*) represents a further version of the Tarentine series of 'pointed oval faces'. The only work of art which can be truly compared to it is, as far as I know a small bronze figure of a running maiden, conserved in the Archaeological Museum of Palermo, of unknown, but very probably Western provenance (*fig. 19*).[43] As for the origin of this bronze statuette, this is much less certain than in the case of the previous pieces, however its type and iconography link it again to the Laconian tradition.[44] Taking in consideration the whole sequence of examples, comprising the two last elements which cannot be illustrated here, we can say as a conclusion, that the physiognomy that can be observed in its more recent

form on the banqueter Taranto 2111 and on a good number of other, similar Tarentine terracottas, goes back in the reality to a Laconian tradition originating in the protoarchaic phase and was perhaps revived at the middle of the 6th century BC particularly by those Western Greek craftsmen who had been trained in some way in a Laconian milieu.

If we return now to the question of the artistic source of the whole composition, the stylistic formula for the representation of a banqueter, it may be useful to look for a good comparison to Taranto 2111 among examples of Laconian art. As we observed already, what is particularly striking in this composition, is its relief-like or even two-dimensional character; it not only lacks the rounded forms of Geneleos' East Greek sculptural type, but also the vividly three-dimensional gestures of the few known small bronze banqueters attributed to Peloponnesian workshops.[45]

The most probable result is, then, that we have to look for a model among the two-dimensional artistic genres. Since we do not know about reliefs which could be compared to our banqueter figurines and might have been accessible to the Tarentines at this time, it is logical to turn to the painting, more precisely to vase-painting, the only genre which can inform us (and probably 'overseas' Greeks of the time, too) about the inventions of Greek major painting. This choice seems to be the more logical, since we know that the theme of the symposion appeared much earlier on vases than in the sculpture.

The motif of the symposion appeared on Corinthian vases already between the end of the 7th and the beginning of the 6th century BC, by 580 it was used in the Athenian vase-painting and from the second quarter of the century in the Laconian, too.[46] It is equally certain that the archaic pictorial scheme of this subject matter was elaborated in Corinth and transmitted from this center to the two others, where it went through modifications, according to local taste. In Athenian vase-painting these modifications were introduced only after 530 BC, first of all probably as a consequence of the red-figure painters' innovations, who transformed the aristocratic Corinthian symposia of nameless, or strictly mythological heroes to a current everyday life scene, recharged with anecdotal elements. As for the first half of the 6th century, however, banquet scenes were not a particularly important element in Athenian vase-painting and their occasional exemples do not differ much from their Corinthian models.[47]

It seems, on the contrary, that Laconian vase-painting, during its short heyday in the central third of the 6th century, treated the theme of the banquet and the banqueter as a particularly important one since the first moment. This is demonstrated in itself by the particularly frequent appearances of these representations in the relatively modest Laconian production: there are more known symposion-scenes in the Laconian than in the Corinthian vase-painting, not only relatively, but also in actual numbers.[48] But still more interesting than these statistics is the way in which the painters of Laconian cups reformulated practically on each occasion the model borrowed from Corinth according to a specifically local taste. Laconian innovations are most conspicuous as far as iconography is concerned: on Laconian vases symposion scenes are enriched with numerous unusual motifs, which seem to fill the pictures probably not with a mythological, but with a ritual content. Besides snakes, birds and lizards, the most particular iconographical element of Laconian banquet scenes is the figure of the winged 'daemon', approaching in several cases to a reclining man, either walking or flying and holding out a wreath towards him.[49]

The earliest known and perhaps also the most beautiful example of Laconian banquet scenes is represented by the famous cup of the Naukratis Painter, decorated with a crown of five symposiasts, two of them being accompanied by the winged youth just mentioned, two by a small siren and the fifth by a cup-bearer, all holding a wreath to the banqueter.[50] If we look at any of the five figures of identical form (*fig. 20*) and compare it to the banqueter Taranto 2111 (*fig. 9*), we discover in a moment the conspicuously close stylistic similarity between the two. Correspondences are evident, no matter if we compare the proportion and the pose of the whole figures, the form of heads or the drapery, or else such tiny details as the form and the gesture of the hands, the range of 'tongues' encircling the forehead, or the design of muscles on the right half of the torso and on the right arm. Even the left hand of the Naukratis Painter's figure, pressed against the stomach is identical to the left hand of the Taranto figurine, holding the lyra. We can notice here also another fact: the lyra, one of the most popular attributes of Tarentine banqueters, is also a frequent accessory of Laconian symposion cups, although it generally appears, not in the hand of the banqueter, but as the instrument of the lyra-player, a figure of equally controversial interpretation, who appears often in Laconian banquet and komos scenes.[51]

Laconian pottery has a special importance in the range of Aegean products imported to Tarentum

in the archaic period,[52] and it seems that the imagery of Laconian black-figure vases played a significant role in the development of the visual culture of the Tarentine in the 6th century BC, even if evidently not an exclusive one, besides the important amounts of Corinthian and Athenian pottery and the small scale sculpture of East Greek and perhaps Peloponnesian origin.[53] However, as far as the symposion scene is concerned, the first Tarentine representation of this subject happens to be so closely connected with the current scheme of Laconian vase-painting, and exclusively with this, as to convince us that the Laconian representation was the direct forerunner of the whole Tarentine genre. This hypothesis is confirmed, moreover, by the fact that the stylization of the face of Taranto 2111 (together with a number of similar Tarentine coroplastic types) appears to be directly related to a circle of Laconian or Laconianizing small scale sculpture.

Thus, it seems that the old question of the beginning of Tarentine banqueter compositions and of the artistic source of their first series can be answered convincingly if we take a close look at Laconian art. This statement is also significant in the light of another old question, which is still without a definitive answer: that of the artistic connections of Taras and her metropolis Sparta. The long debate concerning this question, which is too complex to be summarized here in detail, comes from the contradiction that while Taras was the only known western colony of Sparta, no artifact considered to be 'Laconian in style' could be connected unequivocally to this center.[54] It seems however that it will be possible to retrace precisely this archaic Laconian stylistic element in the copious production of Tarentine small scale terracotta sculpture, the only obstacle being actually the low level of publication of this class of finds: in fact, an important amount of votive terracotta material, in which these indices would to be found is for the moment mostly unpublished.[55] The study of these early documents, to be dated mostly around the middle of the 6th century BC, confirms however the hypothesis that some of the much debated banqueter compositions, and very probably the earliest versions of them, can preserve the traces of Laconian culture in Taras.

An increasingly coherent picture of Laconian-Tarantine connections is available now, thanks to a number of other sources, besides this early, unpublished group of terracottas,[56] and it seems that the hypothesis of the Laconian origin of Tarentine banqueter compositions can be plausibly inserted in this picture.

When looking for the origin of this genre, it is not without importance to recall what we know about its function: since Tarentine banqueter terracottas were found exclusively in ritual contexts, that is to say, in votive deposits, it seems to be evident that the whole genre was created and maintained for religious purposes, in order to serve a special, local cult. From this point of view the connections of the South Italian colony with its mother city seem to be particularly important: it becomes more and more certain that many of the Tarentine cults were of Spartan origin or at least present in the same period also in Sparta in a very similar form.[57] We cannot yet define actually with certitude the Tarentine cult that comprised the dedication of banqueter terracottas, thus it is also impossible to identify precisely its Spartan counterpart. However, it is worth recalling in this connection what has been said about the symposion scenes of Laconian black-figure cups: the key of the interpretation of these images might be once again a specific Spartan cult, still difficult to describe with precision. While M. Pipili connected Laconian symposion cups to Samos, more precisely to a group of Spartiates established near the Samian sanctuary of Hera,[58] I find more convincing the reconstruction formulated independently by C.M. Stibbe and R. Förtsch. The two authors, dealing with two different groups of documents, recognized more or less the same ritual practice, in which individual prestigious families venerated their eminent deceased members, seen and represented as heroes and perhaps even identified with Dionysos, exactly through the image of a banquet.[59]

4. Synthesis of East Greek and Laconian in Sparta and Taras

The complex and much debated problem of the interpretation of Tarentine banqueter compositions and the identification of the related cult would exceed the limits of this paper. From the perspective of the art historical reconstruction we can assume however, as we have seen, that the origin of the representation itself may be looked for in Sparta, at least if our hypothesis concerning the chronology of Taranto 2111 (*fig. 9*) was correct, and the type was created effectively not much later than the middle of the 6th century BC. Thus, this type must have been one of the first, if not the very first creation which inaugurated this long-lived genre. On the other hand, the middle of the 6th century BC is also the heyday of archaic Laconian art and craft, after which (presumably because

Fig. 21. Female terracotta protome. Detail: frontal view of face (Croissant 1983, pl. 16).

Fig. 22. Terracotta figurine of a banqueter, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum (photo author).

Fig. 23. Hero relief from Chrysapha, Berlin, Staatliche Museen. Detail: face of the figure turned towards the viewer (Förtsch 2001).

of the radical transformation of the city-state's political and social system), Laconian artistic production declined in the quantity and in the variety of genres. In the last third of the century previously established, markedly local stylistic solutions were gradually mixed up with those clearly recognizable East Greek and, subsequently, Attic models, which in the same period flooded much of the Greek world, including South Italian Greek colonies.[60]

The coroplastic type of the terracotta Budapest 77.104.A, the starting point of our present investigations, may be considered a result of this 'second generation' change. If our hypothesis concerning the identification of local styles is correct, this coroplastic type is the only Tarentine sculptural creation known which clearly depends on Samian models; in addition, the formula created in Samian art was only used for the modeling of the face of this figurine type. It could also be seen through the examples listed above[61] that besides this single Samian type, Milesian models were more popular in Taras.

The banqueter statuette no 1160 of the Allard Pierson Museum of Amsterdam (*fig. 22*) is one exemplar of a Tarentine series which comprises the variants of a physiognomy satisfying also for modern eyes.[62] This large circular face structure, delimited by very clear contours and filled with a good amount of vitality finds its closest parallel once again in the repertory of Milesian art: the connection is best illustrated by the comparison with another protome type of Croissant's 'Milesian' group (*fig. 21*).[63] In this case, however, the Tarentine face is not a precise reproduction of the East Greek physiognomy: it lacks the latter's roundedness and its fluid transitions from one plane of the head to the other, as well as from the forehead to the nose and to the eyebrows. The whole seems as if the modeler could only follow his Eastern model with some restrictions. We have almost the same impression, if we look at a famous rounded face of Laconian sculpture: the face of the figure turned towards the spectator on the so-called hero-relief found near Chrysapha, now in Berlin (*fig. 23*) denotes a striking similarity with the face of the Tarentine banqueter of Amsterdam, not only as far as its iconography is concerned, but also as for the structure of the face and the concept of modeling.

The Chrysapha relief is a crucial element of the history of Laconian art, but since Langlotz's contribution it has been studied almost exclusively from the point of view of religious interpretation, in the context of the other pieces of the same kind, but much less well preserved.[64] Concerning its place in the history of Laconian art, following the statement made by Langlotz and more recently by C. Blümel, it is usually dated to the third quarter of the 6th century and considered beyond doubt to be a typical example of Laconian style, only superficially adorned with the formal accessories of East Greek representations. It was recognized for the first time in 2001 by Förtsch that the drapery and the whole stylistic execution of the seated figure finds its closest parallel in Milesian art, by

comparing the Chrysapha hero with the Chares of the Didyma sanctuary.[65] We can add that some other seated figures of the same circle can be equally well compared to the Spartan relief, and there is even one which shows a still closer relationship to it.[66] As for the frontal face, in spite of the sharpness of its contours and the general stiffness of its modeling, that breaks here and there the round forms, it seems to reflect much more a Milesian scheme than a Laconian one. At least, in the repertory of Laconian sculpture of the 6th century we do not find any directly related structure, either in small or in large scale sculpture, no matter if stone, bronze, or ivory. It is more likely that what we see in the face of the Chrysapha hero, is one of the Milesian variants for the representation of human physiognomy, appearing here in that form, which it could assume in the hands of a Laconian master, who 'translated' it in this way into 'Laconian', responding to his own training and traditions. The type of Amsterdam 1160 (together with the other types related to it) illustrates an analogous learning process, that could take place perhaps a bit later, during the last quarter of the 6th century BC, among the craftsmen of Sparta's colony Taras. The result, two strikingly similar stylistic solutions, encourage the inference of at least two parallel stories in the background.

The modelers of the late 6th century BC Tarentine banqueters might have produced their more or less successful syntheses as a result of such learning processes. Their two-dimensional compositions, rooted in Laconian black-figure vase-painting, continued to abound with graphical solutions for a long period still, while in the modeling of faces, more and more often conceived in the round, the repertory of East Greek sculpture seems to have become an unavoidable point of reference. The synthesis of Laconian tradition and a new model, borrowed from Milesian art, produced the first typical local formula of the banqueter theme that was to achieve a more lasting success, and to be replaced later on, toward the end of the century, by forms dictated by the subsequent change of taste, that preferred the style of late archaic Athenian art.

Notes

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1 Inv. no 77.104.A. Z. Oroszlán/A. Dobrovits, *Antik Kiállítás*, Budapest 1947, 23, no D.14; J.Gy. Szilágyi, *Bull-MusBAHongrie* 46-47 (1976) 18-19 and 151-152, fig. 10.

2 C.W. Lunsingh Scheurleer, Beiträge zur tarentinischen Kunstgeschichte, *Critica d'Arte* 2 (1937) 146, fig. 3; B. Neutsch, Der Heros auf der Kline, *RM* 68 (1961) 150-163, 156, fig. 66,2; Langlotz 1963, 61, no 23; P. Orlandini, in *Megale Hellas*, 420, fig. 428; D. Loiacono, Le terrecotte figurate, in E.M. De Juliis/D. Loiacono, *Taranto. Il Museo Archeologico*, Taranto 1985, 342, fig. 409; Iacobone 1988, 54, fig. 42,b; Bennett/Paul 2002, 142-143 (with illustration).

3 Wuilleumier 1939, 401, no 7, fig. XXVIII,3; R.A. Lunsingh Scheurleer, *De Grieken in het klein*, Amsterdam 1986, 59, no 52 (with previous literature).

4 The term 'coroplastic type' indicates a group consisting in a 'prototype', i.e. a first hand-modeled figurine, used for the preparation of moulds, all the moulds derived from it, secondary generations included, and all the terracotta figurines molded with these; in other words, I use the term in the sense of the term 'series' of Nicholls 1952.

5 Louvre, MNB 2219 and MNB 2499, see Mollard-Besques 1954, nos B439 and B438, pl. XXV.

6 For the most up to date presentation of the topography and cults of ancient Tarentum see Lippolis 1995. About the history of archaeological excavations started in Taranto in 1879 and the uneasy foundation of the National Museum see C. D'Angela, *Il Museo negato (Taranto 1876 – 1896)*, Taranto 2000. On F. Lenormant's Tarentine 'excavations' see F. Lenormant, Les terres cuites de Tarente, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (1892) 202-224 and Notes archéologiques sur Tarente, *Gazette Archéologique* 7 (1881-1882), 148-190; see also V.C. Belli, François Lenormant archeologo avventuroso, in *Atti Taranto* 13 (1973), Naples 1977, 7-14 and Chr. Morin, *François Lenormant et la découverte des terres-cuites de Tarente* (mémoires de maîtrise, Université de Paris 1, 1996-1997).

7 A number of general presentations were published about this class of Tarentine terracottas: see e.g. Herdejürgen 1971; Letta 1971, 61-73; Iacobone 1988, 166-169; Lippolis 1995, 51-53; Bencze 2001, 141-157.

8 We must mention however the composition scheme in which a female figure, alone or with a child, is associated to the banqueter (e.g. Iacobone 1988, type C4XV, pl. 70).

9 For a historiography see Lippolis 1995, 51-54.

10 Higgins 1971, 267-282.

11 Herdejürgen 1971,1-25.

12 The material of the six votive deposits published by Iacobone 1988 represents a particularly important source of documents.

13 See *in primis* Croissant 1983. E. Langlotz's classical monograph (Langlotz 1927) must be mentioned as the most important forerunner of this methodological approach.

[14] *Catalogo del Museo* IV,1, 11-30 (it should be observed that none of them reaches the level that we usually call 'major sculpture' nor in quality, neither in scale).

[15] It seems to be justified to handle with skepticism the attributions, which tried to connect a number of small bronze statuettes and bronze vessels of various provenances to Tarentum, considered to be a major center of archaic bronze industry: see Jantzen 1937, 26-46; Jucker 1965-1966, 1-128; some of these attributions were accepted and repeated in Borda 1979, 105-127; the decisive arguments against them are summed up in the most complete and coherent form in Rolley 1982. Besides the small bronzes of uncertain attribution, there is one major bronze work which may be attributed to a local variant of Laconianizing style: the ¾ scale, hollow bronze statuette of Zeus found in Messapian Uzentum (Ugento): for its first detailed publication see Degrassi 1981.

[16] Frankfurt, Liebighaus; Walter-Karydi 1985, fig. 27,3.

[17] Vathy Museum. *Samos* X, pls 26-27.

[18] Croissant 1983, 33-48, pls 1-6; see also Langlotz 1927, 118-125, 57-59, 66-67 and pl. 69-72. But see Rolley 1994, 266-267. According to another approach the two styles are not to be attributed to two different political communities, but to the individual tradition of two workshops working side by side within the same center, see e.g. V. von Graeve, Über verschiedene Richtungen der milesischen Skulptur in archaischer Zeit. Bemerkungen zur formalen Gestaltung und zur Lokalisierung, in W. Müller-Wiener (ed.), *Milet 1899-1980. Ergebnisse, Probleme und Perspektiven einer Ausgrabung*, Tübingen 1986, 81-94, who describes the famous kore head of Berlin, no Sk1631 as Milesian, but produced by a less known workshop of Milet.

[19] Croissant 2005 and *Αρχαιογνώσια* 12 (2003-2004) 141-166.

[20] One should remember here the numerous terracotta protomai and figurines of Samian style, found at different sites of the Aegean, whose Samian origin is far from being assured, not even necessarily molded with moulds produced in Samos, cf. Ducat 1966, pl. X-XI, Croissant 1983, 33-48, pl. 1-6. Figurines and protomai of Samian style have been found in Sicily and South Italy, too, see e.g. Croissant 2000, pl. XVIII; 2005, figs 1-2, 4-5 and 10 = E. Gabrici, *MonAnt* 32 (1927) fig. XVIII,9.

[21] Cf. Croissant 2000.

[22] I know three pieces belonging to the first type: Taranto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, inv. nos 2164, 50436 and 3243 (Iacobone 1988, 52-53, figs 39c, 61a and 39b), the first one an almost complete figurine, the two others only heads; the best parallel of their physiognomy is the head of the draped youth found at Samian Cape Phoneas, but generally considered to be Milesian (*Altsamische Standbilder* III, 46, figs 160-162).
The second type of 'Milesian style' is represented by the unpublished head no 1661 of the Allard Pierson Museum, Amsterdam, to be compared to the draped youth of the British Museum from Didyma (Tuchelt 1970, 53-54, no K6, pls 10-11).
The third type is that of the fragments Louvre MNB, inv. no 2608 (Mollard-Besques 1954, no B406) and Taranto, inv. no 20014 (Iacobone 1988, pl. 39a); both fragments conserve also a portion of the body, while the faces show a striking similarity to the Milesian B4/b protome type of Croissant 1983, even in the details.

[23] See note 2.

[24] See below.

[25] Cf. Bencze 2001.

[26] M. Schede, *Zweiter vorläufiger Bericht über die von den Berliner Staatlichen Museen unternommenen Ausgrabungen auf Samos*, Berlin 1929; after the first publication for the first time in a more detailed manner: *Samos* XI, 106-109, pls 44-53.

[27] Walter-Karydi 1985, 91-104.

[28] Besides of the examples of Walter-Karydi 1985, 96, see also the lists of Herdejürgen 1971, 5, note 29 and Lettta 1971, 63. Further on, one large scale marble sculpture from Myous, omitted from these lists: Blümel 1963, 63, figs 213 and 214.

[29] Frankfurt, Liebighaus; Walter-Karydi 1985, fig. 27,3.

[30] Higgins 1971, 269-270; Herdejürgen 1971, 5-6.

[31] It should be observed that all the few reclining banqueters conceived in the scheme of '*...ilarches*' and preserved with a head that can be analyzed, have a face of the purest 'Samian style'. See two more small bronzes from the middle of the 6th century BC: *Altsamische Standbilder* III, 181-182 and fig. 193 (ca 540-530 BC); Walter-Karydi 1985, fig. 27,2.

[32] Unpublished.

[33] See e.g. one piece from Thera: *Ergon* 1968 (1969) 98, fig. 114.

[34] Nos MNB 2498 and MNB 2220, Mollard-Besques 1954, nos B495 and B496.

[35] Unpublished.

[36] Such as Louvre, nos MNB 2605 and MNB 2606 (Mollard-Besques 1954, nos B408 and B410), Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum, nos B1914, B1915, B1913, B1909, B1912 (W. Schürmann, *Katalog der antiken Terrakotten im Badischen Landesmuseum Karlsruhe*, Göteborg 1989, pls 48-49, 67, 24 and 36, nos 111, 112, 203, 204, 205).

[37] Berlin, Staatliche Museen, inv. no 31084. Herfort-Koch 1986, 34 and 98 (with previous bibliography), no K59, pl. 7,7-8.

[38] U. Häfner, *Kunstschaffen Lakoniens in archaischer Zeit*, Diss. Münster 1965, nos 12-3, 16, 25, 27 and 133, S5.

[39] See Langlotz 1927, 91-92; Herfort-Koch 1986, 31-38.

[40] L.O.K. Congdon, *Caryatid Mirrors of Ancient Greece*, Mainz 1981, 130: ca 560 BC; Herfort-Koch 1986, 98: ca 540 BC.

[41] New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no 1995.92. C.M. Stibbe, Between Babyka and Knakion. Three Addenda, *BABesch* 69 (1994) 63-113, especially 86-93, and The Goddess at the Handle. A Survey of Laconian Bronze Hydriae, *BABesch* 79 (2004) 14-15.

[42] Israel Museum, inv. no 91.71.315. H. Hoffmann, Two unknown Greek bronzes of the Archaic Period, *AJA* 64 (1968) 185-8, pl. 64,2-4 ('Tarentine'); Jucker 1965-1966, 96 and Rolley 1982, 41-42 ('Laconianizing South Italian'); C.M. Stibbe, Frauen und Löwen, *JbRGZM* 43 (1996) 358-359 ('Laconian').

[43] Palermo, Museo Archeologico A. Salinas, inv. no 8265 (B74, C42). C.A. Di Stefano, *Bronzetti figurati del Museo Nazionale di Palermo*, Rome 1975, 64, no 106, pl. XXVI (with previous literature).

[44] Rolley 1967,126 and 130.

[45] See Dentzer 1982, 216-217, pls 176-179, nos B7, B21 and B23bis.

[46] Dentzer 1982, 78, 87-95.

[47] B. Fehr, *Orientalische und griechische Gelage*, Bonn 1971, 53-61, 62-100; Dentzer 1982, 95-130.

[48] Pipili 1987, 71-72: 18 pieces; see also Dentzer 1982, 87-88 (14 pieces) and Förtsch 2001, 142-143, note 218 (16 pieces).

[49] For the interpretations before 1982 see Dentzer 1982, 90-95. Furthermore: Pipili 1987, 71-76 and Pipili 1998, 89-92; Förtsch 2001, 140-145.

[50] Louvre, inv. no E667; Stibbe 1972, 29, 49, 70-71, pl. VI, no 13.

[51] E.g. as on a cup of the Rider Painter found in Taranto: Stibbe 1972, no 312, pl. 110, fig. 12. See also Pipili 1987, 52 and Pipili 1998, 90-91; according to the impressive argumentation of C.M. Stibbe, Dionysos mit einer Kithara?, in *Kotinos. Festschrift für Erika Simon*, Mainz 1992, 139-145, the lyra-player clothed in a long robe is an iconographical scheme representing Dionysos in Laconian art, at the middle of the 6th century BC.

[52] P. Pelagatti, La ceramica laconica del Museo di Taranto, *ASAtene* 33-34 (1955-1956) 7-44; Pelagatti/Stibbe 2002, 365-403.

[53] Cf. F.G. Lo Porto, *BdA* 47 (1962) 153-170; D. Boschung, Die archaischen Nekropolen von Tarent, *Catalogo del Museo* III,1, 176-183.

[54] Instead of an exhaustive bibliography I only mention a few fundamental publications: Jantzen 1937; Borda 1979; Rolley 1982; 1994, 306.

[55] For the moment this study exists in the form of a PhD dissertation, under revision for publication: Á. Bencze, *Recherches sur la petite plastique de terre cuite tarentine, des origines à la fin du VIe siècle*, Thèse de doctorat, Université de Paris 1, 2005, especially 119-184, pls XIII-XVIII.

[56] Stibbe 1975, 27-43; Pelagatti/Stibbe 2002, 365-403.

[57] Stibbe 1975, 32-33 (Persephone, the Dioscures, Apollo Hyacinthus); M. Osanna, Sui culti arcaici di Sparta e Taranto: Afrodite Basilis, *PdP* 45 (1990) 81-94 (Aphrodite Basilis).

[58] Pipili 1987, 73 and 1998, 89-92.

[59] Förtsch 2001, 143-144; Stibbe 1991 and *Das andere Sparta*, Mainz 1996, 23-234.

[60] For a clear presentation of the changes of genres and quantity of Laconian artistic production from 725 to 475 BC see R. Förtsch, Spartan art: its many different deaths, in W.G. Cavanagh/S.E.C. Walker (eds), *Sparta in Laconia. Proceedings of the 19th British Museum Classical Colloquium*, London 1998, 48-54.

[61] See above, note 22.

[62] Another exemplar of the same type is: M. Bonghi Jovino, *Documenti di coroplastica italiota, siciliota ed etrusco-laziale nel Museo Civico di Legnano*, Florence 1972, no 62, pl. XIX. Figurines of a very similar type are Taranto, no 20047, mentioned above (see note 2 and *fig. 4*) and Taranto, no 52019. Another, but closely related type is the one represented by Taranto, no 50367, whose body belongs to one of the most popular types of the late archaic Tarentine production.

[63] Delos, inv. no A.3528; Croissant 1983, 64-65, no 29, pl. 16, type „B5".

[64] Berlin, Staatliche Museen, inv. no B731. Blümel 1963, 22-25, no 16 (with an exhaustive bibliography of former citations). See also in part.: Langlotz 1927, 86, no 5. Recently, with a comprehensive study of the known reliefs of the same class: Stibbe 1991 and Förtsch 2001, 218-219.

[65] Förtsch 2001, 179, n. 1496.

[66] As e.g. the statue no B273 of the British Museum: Tuchelt 1970, 77-78 and 145, no K46, pl. 43,1.

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Early colonies in Latium (ca 534-338 BC)
A reconsideration of current images and the archaeological evidence

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Abstract

*Current research on the colonies founded in Latium in the two centuries before 338 BC (*priscae Latinae coloniae*) focuses principally on historical issues, such as the question of who was responsible for their foundation. Little is known about the colonial settlements themselves. In this article, these settlements and their position in the wider socio-political context will be studied through the archaeological evidence. Based on the archaeological material, some new observations on the physical appearance of the colonial settlements will be made and it will be argued that some of the more traditional ideas on the colonies may need adjustment.**

Introduction

In the period from the reign of Tarquinius Superbus (traditional dates 534-510 BC) until the end of the Latin War (338 BC), fifteen colonies were reportedly founded in ancient Latium (*table*).[1] Although several of them are presented as Roman colonies by the ancient historians, in modern research this group is traditionally labelled the *priscae Latinae coloniae*.[2] To avoid any assumptions resulting from the use of either of these labels regarding the group(s) responsible for the foundation of the colonies, in this article, I will refer to the group of colonies listed in the table simply as 'the early colonies in Latium'.[3]

These early colonies in Latium are both fascinating and problematic. The identification of these settlements *as colonies* is based solely on their presentation as such in the written sources.[4] This causes two problems. First, as there are problems with the reliability of the sources for the period under study, the question arises whether the presence of colonies in Latium during the Late Regal period and the Early Republic represents a historical reality. The answer to this question ultimately depends on the degree of invention we suspect in the accounts of the later historians. In much recent research it has been stressed that factual information that plays no part in the literary narrative, such as the foundation date of a colony, may well go back on early sources and therefore be reliable.[5] Thus, it is quite possible that the settlements listed in the table were in fact colonies of some kind. If we accept this as a point of departure, a second central problem presents itself. What does it mean when the sources describe a settlement as a 'colony' in the context of Latium during the Late Regal period and the Early Republic? The term colony can be understood in many ways, depending on the historical context in which it is used.[6] Therefore, it is quite possible that no modern definition of a colony can be applied to the settlements labelled as such by the ancient sources. In other words, when we read in Livy that a colony was founded at Norba in 492 BC, we should ask ourselves how to con-

*Table. Colonial foundation dates until 338 BC (after Cornell 1995, 303). * indicates a second recorded foundation. The first recorded foundation of Fidenae, during the reign of Romulus, is not included in this table.*

Colony	**Foundation date (BC)**
Signia	Tarquinius Superbus
Circeii	Tarquinius Superbus
Cora	Tarquinius Superbus
Pometia	Tarquinius Superbus
Fidenae*	498
Signia*	495
Velitrae	494 (reinforcement 492)
Norba	492
Antium	467
Ardea	442
Labici	418
Velitrae*	401
Vitellia	395
Circeii*	393
Satricum	385
Setia	383
Sutrium; Nepet	382

ceptualise the settlement itself and the socio-political circumstances of its foundation.

In recent research, attention has predominantly focussed on the socio-political circumstances in which the colonies were founded. Roughly, two positions can be discerned in the debate, which will be dealt with in more detail below. In what we may call the 'traditional' view, Rome and/or the Latin League is held responsible for the foundation of the colonies. An alternative view found mostly in more recent literature, holds that individual warlords or *condottieri* may have been responsible for the foundation of at least some of the early colonies in Latium. It is important to note that in neither of these views much explicit attention is paid to the character of the colonial settlements themselves. In my view, this is problematic. If we want to know what it means when a town is presented as a colony in the historical sources, a better understanding of the settlements themselves is indispensable. To this end, we may turn to the archaeological evidence. Of the fifteen colonies known from the written sources, twelve can be identified with an archeologically known settlement (*fig. 1*).[7] Although archaeological research has been carried out at most of these settlements, a comparison of the information thus gathered is lacking. Through a comparative analysis of the archaeological remains from these settlements, we may be able to create an image of their physical appearance and answer questions on their mutual relations, their position within the wider context of Latium, and their relationship to Rome. Before turning to archaeology, however, I will first examine the current ideas on the socio-political context in which the colonies were founded and their consequences for our conceptualisation of the colonial settlements. Subsequently, I will consider and compare the archaeological data pertaining to the colonies in order to review and add information to the existing images of the colonies.

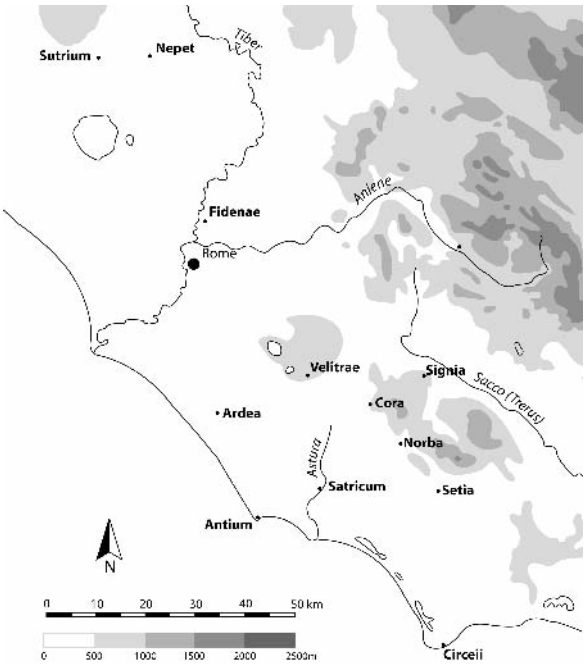

Fig. 1. Map showing the early colonies in Latium identified with an archaeological site (map by author, based on Solin 1996, 3 and the Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World*).*

Existing images of the early colonies

Information on the early colonies in Latium in the written sources is limited. Often only their foundation is recorded, without any details on the function or character of the settlement.[8] In some cases, additional information is given, such as the number of colonists or the composition of the colonial population.[9] Further, we should note that the colonies were often added to an existing settlement.[10] The image emerging from the sources in general is that of Rome as the central instigator of the colonial foundations.[11] However, almost nothing is known about the practical details concerning these foundations.[12] As a result of this paucity of information, current images of the colonies are very much shaped by modern research. In what follows, two 'schools' in the debate are reviewed with special attention for the way in which the early colonies are conceptualised.

The traditional image

Traditionally, the responsibility for the foundation of the early colonies has been attributed variably to the Romans on the one hand, and the Latins on the other.[13] Although the written sources indicate a central role for Rome, this idea was discarded in the hypercritical tradition, mainly advocated by Andreas Alföldi. He accepted the historicity of the colonies only if they could be conceptualised as *Latin* projects.[14] A similar line is followed by Edward Togo Salmon in his account of Roman colonisation under the Republic.[15] In recent scholarship, however, there has been a reappraisal of the central role played by Rome in the process of early colonisation in Latium. Thus, Tim Cornell suggests that 'to say that a colony was founded by Rome is probably only a technical error'.[16] In

most recent literature, Rome alone is held responsible for the foundation of the colonies preceding the *foedus Cassianum*, while after the conclusion of the treaty, Rome is thought to have been at least as influential as all of the other Latin towns together.[17] In addition, Mario Torelli has suggested that after the victory over Veii in 396 BC, Rome may have started a more imperialist policy, which would have reduced the input of the Latin allies.[18]

The idea that Rome played a central role in the foundation of the colonies generally has inspired the study of the early colonies in Latium as a first phase in the development of Roman colonialism and expansion. Such studies, however, have focussed on long term developments rather than the early colonies in their own right.[19] Very influential in this respect is the easy identification of colonisation with Roman expansion.[20] As a result, there is a tendency to describe the foundation of the early colonies as direct evidence of Roman territorial expansion.[21] In this way, the colonies are indirectly presented as *exclusively* Roman in a geopolitical sense, as this Roman territorial expansion would immediately harm the interests of at least some of the Latin cities. In other cases, the colonies are presented in a somewhat teleological fashion as forerunners of future Roman expansion.[22]

Although this emphasis on the colonies as part of Roman expansion relates first of all to their political and military function, the resulting image of the physical colony shows that there are cultural implications as well. The inclusion of the early colonies in the discussion of Roman colonisation as a whole has allowed the projection of aspects of later Roman colonies onto the colonies here under study.[23] Most importantly, the early colonies are generally conceptualised as urban centres and military strongholds.[24] In addition, it is often suggested that centuriation of the countryside was an integral part of the foundation of the colony, thus providing it with a neatly organised territory.[25]

These assumptions may have affected the role of archaeological research in the study of the early colonies. Archaeological material is almost exclusively used as evidence for the existence of the colony, without considering the possible information the archaeological material has to offer on the character of the colonial settlement.[26] It seems that the question of what the colonies looked like is simply not asked, because an image of them already exists. However, this is not to say that the archaeology of the colonies has not received any attention at all. As far as questions about these sites *as colonies* are concerned, research has focussed on indicators for the very existence of the early colony. At times, these may be elements that coincide with the image of the colony as a well-defended urban centre, such as the city walls (see note 24). In addition, attention has focussed on material culture that might be connected to Rome as the colonising power.[27]

An alternative image

The traditional image of the colonies as sketched above places them in a context where Rome plays a central role in their foundation. As a consequence, archaeological research on the colonial settlements has focussed on possible Roman influences and parallels with later Roman colonies. However, the research practice of retrojecting elements of later Roman colonies onto earlier ones has recently been criticised (see note 23). An alternative image places the colonies in another socio-political context, in which the central role of Rome is much less clear.

Instead of being the result of a centrally organised colonisation programme directed from Rome, the colonies may have originated in other ways. Examples of this can be found in the written sources.[28] For instance, Dionysius of Halicarnassus describes the regal colony at Signia as the result of a seemingly coincidental development: a group of soldiers pitched camp there for the winter, 'and built their camp in such a manner as not to differ in any respect from a city'.[29] Another, later example of a colony that was not sent out from Rome is the initiative of a group of discontented soldiers to take over Capua and settle there, recorded by Livy for 342 BC.[30]

Examples such as these fit quite well in the current image of the socio-political context in which the colonies were founded. As argued by Kurt Raaflaub, during the Early Republic we can witness a transition from a pre-political stadium in which social power was a central aspect, to a political stadium with growing emphasis on formal political power.[31] In such a dynamic political environment, the existence of a standard colonial policy becomes less obvious. Moreover, in the words of Cornell, 'one of the most important features of the society of central Italy in the archaic period is the presence of *condottieri*, aristocratic warlords whose power rested on the support of armed personal dependants (…)'.[32] These warlords acted as individuals or as members of a *gens*, but not necessarily as representatives of a city or state.[33] In addition, they seem to have been able to maintain their social position in various

ethnic groups, which is an indication for a high degree of horizontal social mobility in elite circles in this period.[34] Based on these indications, the social context in which the early colonies were founded can be described as one 'where individual ethnic identities were not central to behaviour, and where state barriers were underdeveloped by later standards'.[35]

Based on these premises, it has been suggested by various scholars that *gentes* and warlords were somehow involved in the foundation of the early colonies in Latium.[36] Opinions differ however on the relation of these groups and individuals to Rome and on the chronological extent of the phenomenon. For example, both Guy Bradley and Monica Chiabà underline the involvement of individual warlords and their private armies in the early colonies.[37] However, whereas Bradley imagines these groups as unorganised bands in search of land, cattle, slaves and other kinds of booty, Chiabà suggests that they still operated as representatives of Rome. Yet another scenario is evoked by Torelli when he points out that many of the persons who serve as examples of warlords are accused in the sources of *adfectatio regni*, the aspiration to tyranny in Rome.[38] It is not hard to imagine a situation in which various warlords and their armies were active in Latium, fighting to create a power basis from which it would be possible to seize power in Rome.[39] It should be stressed, however, that most scholars suggest images like these only for the late 6th and early 5th centuries. In view of the rising power and territorial expansion of Rome in the 4th century, it is very well possible that the 4th century colonies differ considerably from those founded earlier. For example, Cornell argues that the campaign of the Fabii against Veii in 477 BC, often quoted as an example of a *gens* acting independently, is one of the last examples of an Archaic phenomenon.[40] Various other scholars maintain that *gentes* and other mobile groups still played an important part in the social reality of Latium in the 5th and 4th centuries.[41] Bradley even suggests that alternative forms of colonisation continued until the late 4th century.[42]

These ideas on the socio-political context in which the colonies were founded have no clear repercussions for the way the physical appearance of these settlements is conceptualised. We may only note Torelli's suggestion that the colonies may have been quite ephemeral in nature.[43] However, new questions do arise. Should we still imagine these settlements as urban centres, or could habitation be organised in other ways? How do the colonies develop? Are there any differences between the colonies founded in the late sixth and early fifth centuries, and the later ones? We may now examine if the archaeology of the colonies can help answering these questions.

The archaeological evidence

As may be clear by now, in the scholarly discussion on the early colonies as it has been conducted so far, little attention has been given to the colonial settlements themselves. In the remainder of this article, the twelve ancient settlements that can be identified with the early colonies mentioned in the written sources (see *fig. 1*) will be studied through their archaeological remains. A comparative analysis of the archaeological remains will be executed in order to create a better understanding of the settlements themselves and their position within their wider regional context.

The goal of this archaeological research is twofold. First, it may inform us in general on the character of the settlements that can be identified with the colonies mentioned in the written sources. In this way, if we choose to believe the historicity of these colonies, through the study of their archaeological remains we may develop a better idea of how to understand and conceptualise them. Second, it can make a contribution to the question of who was responsible for the foundation of these colonies. Although it is impossible to decide on this question on the basis of the archaeological evidence alone, we may formulate some hypotheses on the archaeological implications of the existing views. In case of a centrally organised colonising movement directed from Rome, we might expect the colonies to present similar standard features, possibly developing typical 'colonial' characteristics different from other settlements in Latium. In addition, in this scenario, we might expect some sort of active involvement from Rome in the colonies. In case of the alternative view, with its emphasis on the colonies as the result of actions by individual warlords or *gentes*, arguably more variation in the physical appearance of the settlements would be expected. As no predetermined relationship between the various colonies exists in this view, they may be expected to develop more individually and according to local circumstances.

For reasons of clarity, the analysis of the archaeological material will focus on three topics: urban planning, temples and the direct surroundings of the settlements. Moreover, in order to be able to execute an analysis in which both goals expressed above are accounted for, it is important to distinguish between the following five research questions.

First of all, the *physical appearance* of the settlements is central to the analysis, both as an end in itself and as a way to verify some of the assumptions that result from the existing traditional view on the colonies. Second, attention will focus on questions of *(dis)continuity* between the periods preceding and following the colonial foundation date, as a means to understand the impact of the reported foundation. Next, in order to examine the degree of uniformity between the colonies, attention will focus on their *mutual differences and similarities*, both in their physical appearance and in the way they develop from the moment of their foundation. To be able to distinguish between elements or developments specific for the colonies and wider spread phenomena, it is also important to establish the *position of the colonies in the Latial socio-geographical context*. Finally, indications of a special *relation to Rome* will be investigated.

Urban planning

The nature of the evidence allows only two aspects of urban planning to be considered: the defensive walls and the spatial layout of the settlement.[44] By examining the development of these elements through time, we may gather more information on this aspect of the physical appearance of the settlements in various periods of their existence. In addition, both the construction of defensive walls and the creation of certain types of spatial layout, such as an orthogonal plan or the organisation of a hilltop settlement in terraces, indicate a certain level of central organisation. Thus, a study of these elements can inform us on the organisational developments in the settlements under study. By relating these developments to the historical foundation date of the colony, we may be able to understand whether or not the colony's reported foundation had any immediate impact on the existing settlement. In order to provide a tool for the analysis, in figure 2 information on the date of the construction of the defensive wall and the presence of an organised spatial layout is schematically put together.

Before proceeding, it should be stressed that the information gathered in figure 2 is already the result of current interpretations of the archaeological evidence. Both the construction of the city wall and the organisation of the spatial layout of the settlement are often hard to date when stratigraphical evidence is lacking. We should therefore be aware of the fact that the dates of both the city walls and the presence of an organised spatial layout are often based on the historical information

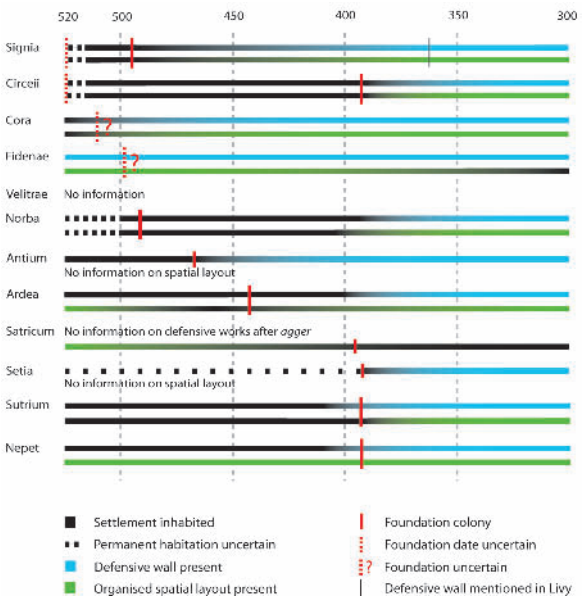

Fig. 2. Schematic overview urban planning.

of the foundation of a colony, leading to an obvious danger of circular reasoning. However, it is also true that in some cases other arguments are used, which lead to a date for the walls or the internal layout independent of the traditional foundation date. It may therefore still be worthwhile to have a look at the developments visible in figure 2 in some more detail and with attention to the nature of the evidence.

Concentrating on the (dis)continuity between the periods preceding and following the colonial foundation date, we may first of all note that at the sites where a colony was reportedly founded in the late 6th and early 5th centuries, no major changes in the urban planning can be recognised in the same period. In the cases of Signia, Norba and the regal colony of Circeii, where no urban settlement existed in the pre-colonial period (see note 10), there are no signs that in the period after the historical foundation date, a city wall was immediately erected or an urban layout created.[45] In Fidenae, an urban layout already existed, but no alterations can be recognised in the period immediately after the colony's recorded foundation.[46] Only in the case of Cora there are changes in the urban layout and the construction of the wall that date to the period of the colony's supposed foundation.[47] In this case, however, the presence of a colony is doubtful (see note 1), and both the urban layout in terraces and the polygonal walls may date from the period *before* the foundation of the colony.[48]

Next, in Antium and Ardea, both reportedly founded around the middle of the 5th century, there seems to be a chronological coincidence between the foundation date of the colony and alterations in the urban planning. However, there are some problems with the evidence. At Antium, no information is available on the spatial layout of the settlement, but the existing agger was reinforced with a wall in *opus quadratum*, generally dated in the 5th century.[49] The construction of this wall has been cautiously linked to the influence of the colonists, but it should be noted that the historical foundation date of the colony is an important argument for the date of the walls.[50] At Ardea, there are indications for a contraction of the habitation area in the early 5th century.[51] After the recorded foundation date of the colony (442 BC), however, there is a renewed building activity,[52] and several temples are redecorated (see below). Also, an orthogonal layout has been recognised on the plateau of Civitavecchia, which may date back to the late 5th century.[53]Although it thus seems that the colony recorded in the written sources had some immediate impact on the urban layout, the existing defensive system of *aggeres* was reinforced with a wall in *opus quadratum* only in the fourth century.[54]

Shifting our attention to the colonies recorded in the early 4th century, we may note more direct changes in the settlements that can be identified with these colonies. This can be seen most clearly in the cases where the colony seems to have been founded practically *ex novo*. At Circeii, the polygonal walls and orthogonal plan at San Felice may date to the period when the second colony was reportedly founded (see note 45). At Setia, information on the internal layout of the settlement lacks,[55] but the first phase of the polygonal wall surrounding the town is often linked to the foundation of the colony in 382 BC.[56] It should be noted however, that in a recent article, Elisabeth Bruckner uses the date of the colony only as a *terminus post quem* for the building of the wall, which means that the direct effect of the colony may be limited in this case.[57]

In the settlements that already existed prior to the historical foundation date of the colony, the situation is more complex. In the case of Sutrium, it has been suggested that the first urban layout goes back to the period immediately following the foundation of the colony, while at Nepet, the urban layout is dated to a period preceding the traditional colonial foundation date, and there are indications that it remained largely unchanged afterwards.[58] In both settlements, the relation between the foundation date of the colony and the building of the defensive walls in *opus quadratum* is not entirely clear. Although most scholars propose a date in the early fourth century,[59] the question remains whether the walls were built before the colony was founded, as a defence against Roman threat, or just after its foundation, when the newly arrived colonists in hostile territory may have immediately constructed it.[60]

Now, it is clear that these changes in the urban layout in the 4th century are no exclusive phenomenon for the settlements that according to the written sources received a colony in this period. In Norba and Ardea, for which an earlier foundation date is known, the defensive wall is dated in the (early) 4th century as well, and the same is true for the first orthogonal layout at Norba. This means that developments in the urban planning of these settlements take place in the same period (the early 4th century), but not in the same phase of existence of the colony in relation to the foundation date. Moreover, when we look at the broader Latial context, we may note that other settlements in Latium develop in a similar way in the early 4th century.[61] Thus, the changes in urban planning presented above are not exclusive for the 4th century colonies.

At Satricum, the 4th century colony mentioned by Livy does not seem to have had any impact on the urban planning.[62] This underlines the fact that the developments of the individual settlements identified with the historical colonies vary considerably from case to case. As shown by the examples of Satricum and Fidenae, this may be dependent on the success of the settlement as a whole: both settlements seem to lose their importance *and* their existing spatial layout in the course of the 5th and 4th centuries, uninfluenced by the supposed presence of a colony. In this respect, it is safe to conclude that local circumstances may often have affected the developments at a settlement to a much greater extent than the presence of a colony.

Temples[63]

In order to learn more about the physical appearance of the settlements under study and the possible impact of the historical colonies on the existing sites, we may now compare the archaeological dates of the construction and decoration of the temples present in these settlements to the traditional foundation dates of the colonies. In many of the settlements which reportedly received a colony in the late 6th or 5th centuries, a temple

built or redecorated in the same period is known. For example, at Signia a fragment of an Archaic female head antefix found on the acropolis is linked to the regal colony,[64] whereas a series of terracottas dated to the early 5th century is connected to the second colony of 495 BC.[65] Similarly, in the cases of Circeii (Colle Monticchio),[66] Fidenae (Villa Spada),[67] Velitrae (redecoration SS. Stimmate),[68] Norba (Juno Lucina and large acropolis)[69] and Ardea (construction of the temple at Colle della Noce, redecoration of the temples on the acropolis and Casarinaccio),[70] temples or (re)decorations have been connected to the foundation of the colony. In all these cases, the chronological coincidence between the foundation date of the colony and the date of the building or redecoration of the temple may justify the conclusion that these temples were an important element in the colonial settlement. However, it should be kept in mind that in the case of a redecoration, there is also a sense of continuity as an existing cult place retained the same function and, probably, the same cult in the period after the foundation of the colony. Moreover, activity in temple building in this period is certainly not exclusive to the settlements identified with an early colony.[71] In addition, in the settlements that reportedly received a colony in the 4th century, traces of a cult building dating to the period of the foundation are absent. The building or redecoration of a temple can therefore not be held typical of all settlements that according to the written sources received a colony before 338 BC.

Temples are an important part of this analysis because in existing research, they have served as an indication for a special relation between the colonies and Rome. A Roman influence has often been recognised in the types of architectural decoration used for the temples in the settlements here under study.[72] In 1987, Mauro Cristofani suggested that, in the early 5th century, many Latial settlements followed a new Roman model in temple decoration, in which antefixes shaped as a silen's heads or as Juno Sospita were important elements.[73] Elaborating on Cristofani's remark that there are many similarities between the temples from the settlements of the *foedus Cassianum* in particular, there has since been a tendency to see the terracottas that fit this Roman model as a sign of Roman cultural and even political hegemony in Latium.[74] In the case of the colonies, the presence of a Juno Sospita or silen's head antefix is often cited as a confirmation for the existence of the colony.[75]

This line of reasoning should be treated carefully. A closer look at the specific case of the Juno Sospita antefixes reveals a subdivision into three types of antefixes recognisable as Juno Sospita, all datable to the early 5th century (*groups 1-3 in fig. 3*).[76] A small group of later antefixes may also be identified as Juno Sospita (*group 4 in fig. 3*).[77] Only one of these groups includes antefixes from Rome itself. Thus, it seems that the use of Juno Sospita in architectural decoration is not typical for Rome, and may be a more general Latin phenomenon. However, it is certainly true that antefixes of the most common type (*group 3*) have been found in Rome, and occur in several of the colonies.[78] Moreover, a comparison of the dimensions of the various examples known shows that the antefixes from the Palatine at Rome represent an earlier generation of moulds.[79] On the other hand, in three of the colonies where a Juno Sospita antefix has been found, the foundation date of the colony is *later* than the antefix (Ardea, Satricum and Setia). This leaves us with a situation in which this specific type of Juno Sospita antefix seems to have been used first in Rome, and later in several settlements in Latium, among which three historical colonies (Fidenae, Signia and Norba) and three settlements that according to the sources received a colony only later in their history (Ardea, Satricum and Setia). Based on these facts, it seems that Cristofani's original suggestion of a connection between the towns of the *foedus Cassianum* may still be valid, but the tendency to see these antefixes as a sign of Roman cultural or political hegemony may be pushing the evidence too far. At most, Rome may have played a - probably important - part in the development of cultural models which found their way into the settlements of Latium, colonies and non-colonies alike. It seems unlikely that the spread of these models was imposed by Rome. Instead, it may have been the result of decisions taken by local elites in the settlements of Latium.

Territory

The foundation of a colony may not only have affected the settlement itself, but the surrounding territory as well. The developments in these territories can be examined through the results of topographical research and survey archaeology. For nine of the twelve settlements under study, such information is available.[80] In the cases of Signia, Cora, Antium and Setia, systematic surveys have shown the development of a dense pattern of small sites, interpreted as farms or hamlets, in the course of the 5th century.[81] In the first three cases, chronology allows a hypothetical connection of

Group 1

Satricum 1

Group 2

Antemnae

Falerii Veteres
Vignale, larger temple

Group 3

Rome
Palatine

Rome
Castor & Pollux

Unknown
provenance (1)

Satricum 2

Lavinium
Eastern Sanctuary

Unknown
provenance (2)

Setia
Tratturo Caniò

Fidenae

Signia

Norba

Group 4

Ardea
Colle della Noce

Lavinium

Lavinium
Madonella

Ariccia

Fig. 3. Juno Sospita antefixes (compiled by author. Satricum 1: Attema et al. 1985, 81, fig. 72; Antemnae: Cristofani 1990, tav. XVI, 7.1.1; Falerii Veteres: Andrèn 1940, pl. 32, nr. 113c; Rome - Palatine: Cristofani 1990, tav. VIII, 4.1.5; Rome - Castor & Pollux: Cristofani 1990, tav. IV, 3.4.2; unknown provenance (1): Andrèn 1940, pl. 156, nr. 522; Satricum 2: Attema et al. 1985, 81, fig. 73; Lavinium - Eastern Sanctuary: AA.VV. 1981, D66; unknown provenance (2): Avida 1991, nr. 338; Setia - Tratturo Caniò: Bruckner 2003, 94, fig. 29; Fidenae: Cristofani 1990, tav. XVI, 7.2.1; Signia: Cifarelli 2003, 131, fig. 116; Norba: Pensabene/Sanzi di Mino 1983, tav. XII, nr. 987; Ardea - Colle della Noce: Colonna 1995, 14, fig. 12; Lavinium: Castagnoli 1972, fig. 39; Lavinium – Madonella: Castagnoli et al. 1975, fig. 233; Ariccia: Pensabene/Sanzi di Mino 1983, tav. XLIV, nr. 86).

this development to the colony's recorded foundation. In the case of Setia such a connection cannot be made, as the colony was reportedly founded only a century later.[82] At Ardea and Velitrae a reverse development can be recognised, as in both cases fewer sites are known from the period after the colonial foundation date than from the preceding period.[83] It should be added that in both cases this image is based solely on topographical research, which tends to focus on larger, more monumental sites. The exact pattern of smaller sites in the countryside therefore remains unclear. In the cases of Norba and Satricum, systematic surveys have been conducted in areas at some distance from the settlement.[84] No structural changes in the habitation of the countryside have been noticed there. Continuity in the period of the foundation of the colony can be suggested with more confidence in the case of Fidenae, where the existing situation, with some larger nucleated settlements and a dispersed pattern of smaller sites, continued from the 6th well into the 5th century.[85] A change in the settlement pattern here is recognised in the later 5th or early 4th centuries, when the existing nucleated settlements largely disappear.[86]

In the cases of Signia and Norba, conclusions drawn in previous research on the position of these settlements in the larger, regional settlement system are important for our image of these settlements in their geopolitical context. In both cases, it has been suggested that the settlement developed into a central place for the surrounding area in the period after the foundation of the colony.[87] This seems to have been a gradual development, where the presence of the colony may somehow have caused the settlement to obtain an important position in its regional context. I would like to propose that a similar development may have taken place in the case of Cora, where the nucleated settlement at Cisterna, located some nine kilometres from Cora, disappears in the course of the fifth century.[88] Cora may have assumed a position as a central place here at the cost of the settlement at Cisterna.

The information on the developments in the territories surrounding the various settlements here under study may thus be described as quite varied both in nature and content. Based on the information now available, we may tentatively conclude that no standard development took place in the territory of these settlements. The foundation of the colonies does not seem to have caused a sudden reorganisation of the entire surrounding territory. Many small sites recognised in surveys continue without interruption from the period preceding the colonial foundation date into the succeeding period. The image of a dispersed, but quite dense pattern of small sites, evoked by the results of systematic surveys, is somewhat surprising if we take into account the turbulent situation in Latium as described in the written sources, with warlike groups ravaging the countryside. At the same time, such a dispersed pattern may be a normal phenomenon in fifth century Latium, and does not seem to be typical for the settlements identified with the early colonies. This is exemplified by the fact that in the case of Setia, a change into this kind of dispersed settlement pattern is known from the 5th century, and not from the early 4th century when the colony was founded. Moreover, a similar pattern of dispersed settlement in the fifth century is also known from surveys in other areas in Latium.[89]

Conclusion

If we accept the early colonies in Latium as a historical reality, the archaeological evidence presented above can help us to conceptualise the colonial settlements and their position in the socio-political context. Concentrating first on their physical appearance, some differences are recognisable between those settlements identified with the earliest recorded colonies from the late 6th and early 5th centuries, and those reportedly founded in the 4th century. Based on the archaeological evidence available for the first group, we may note that in the 6th and 5th centuries, the physical appearance of these settlements does not correspond to the traditional image of the colony as a fortified urban centre with an organised territory. Instead, they may have consisted of a population living dispersed in the countryside, possibly using a temple as a central point of reference. This image is evoked by the combination of the often dense but dispersed pattern of small sites surrounding the (later) settlement, and the many examples where a temple was built or redecorated in the period when the colony was reportedly founded. Next, based on our present knowledge we may suggest that in the 4th century, the physical appearance of most of the settlements identified with a colony changes. This is true both for those settlements which according to the sources had already received a colony earlier in their history *and* for those that received a colony in the early 4th century. In many cases, a defensive wall was constructed, and in some cases the first centrally organised layout is also dated to this period.

Therefore, in the fourth century, the colonial settlements seem to become more urban in a physical sense.

The archaeological evidence may also inform us about the position of the settlements identified with the early colonies in the wider context of Latium. As we have seen, these settlements seem to have participated in broader developments in Latium in the period under study, without presenting any typical 'colonial' characteristics. Therefore, based on the archaeological evidence, they are not recognisable as a separate group. At the same time, there are many differences between the settlements studied. In each of them, local cult places could continue and local circumstances seem to have been more important for the development of the urban layout than any ideal type. Concentrating on the position of these settlements in their regional environment, we may conclude that they developed in various ways. Against examples where the settlement assumed a central role in the regional settlement system, as at Signia and Norba, we may set the examples of Circeii, Fidenae and Satricum, where the settlement never assumed such a position, or lost it after the foundation date of the colony.

Apart from these general observations, we may explore the implications of the archaeological evidence for the question of who was responsible for the foundation of the colonies. As argued earlier, no definite answer can be given to this question based on archaeology alone, but we may set the archaeological evidence against the hypotheses formulated earlier. The archaeological material does not indicate a centrally organised and regulated colonisation in which all of the colonies were organised in the same way. The image of the colonies actively participating in broader Latial developments fits well in a model where the colonies do not have any close mutual ties that could result in a specific colonial culture. Furthermore, it has been shown that elements that in previous research have been used to suggest a specific Roman influence in the colonies, such as the occurrence of a Juno Sospita antefix, are not in themselves enough to indicate a politically motivated Roman interference. Based on these considerations, the possibility that Rome was responsible for the foundation of the colonies, but simply did not organise them in a uniform manner, cannot be discounted. However, the observations made above seem to point more in the direction of the alternative image of the colonies founded as separate projects resulting from the actions of various individual warlords or *gentes* who were possibly, but not necessarily, linked to Rome.

Based on the same observations, it might also be concluded that the early colonies in Latium do not fit any modern definition of a colony. Therefore, it is all the more important that we have been able to create an image of the settlements identified with these colonies based on the archaeological material. Instead of conceptualising these settlements according to a standard image of a colony, it is now possible to conceptualise them according to the information offered by archaeology.

Notes

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1 Although some earlier colonies founded at least a century before the upper chronological limit of ca 534 BC are mentioned in the sources, these are not included in this research as they functioned in another social and geo-political context. The year 338 BC serves as a lower limit, because after the victory of Rome over the Latin cities, important changes took place in the socio-political organisation in Latium and in the relationship between Rome and the other Latin settlements.
Note that the foundation dates given in the table are not always certain, cf. a comparable list of colonies given by Forsythe 2005, 191. Most seriously, the foundation dates and even the identification of the settlement as a colony are in doubt in the cases of Fidenae and Cora. The foundation date of 498 BC for Fidenae is based on a passage in Dionysius of Halicarnassus (5.60.4), where he makes mention of a Roman *garrison* (not specifically a colony) in the town (see Bandelli 1995, 154 for more detailed information). The case of Cora is also doubtful; see Palombi 2000, 99 and 2003, 202-205. However, both Fidenae and Cora are referred to as a colony at least once (Livy 4.17.1; 2.16.8), and are therefore included in this research.

2 Festus 276 L; e.g. Salmon 1969, chapter 2; Hermon 1998.

3 Note, however, that the two latest colonies, Sutrium and Nepet, are located just outside Latium. Another reason not to use the term *priscae Latinae coloniae*, is that it may be understood to refer only to those colonies founded after the *foedus Cassianum*, whereas the colonies founded during the reign of Tarquinius Superbus are also included in this research.

4 All of the settlements under study are presented at least once as a *colonia* in a Latin text (Cora and Pometia: Livy 2.16.8; Fidenae: Livy 4.17; Signia (second foundation): Livy 2.21.7; Velitrae: Livy 2.31.4; Norba: Livy 2.34.6; Antium: Livy 3.1.5; Ardea: Livy 4.11.5; Labici: Livy 4.47.6-7; Vitellia: Livy 5.29.4; Satricum: Livy 6.16.6; Setia: Vell. Pat. 1.14.2; Sutrium: Vell. Pat. 1.14.2; Nepet: Vell. Pat. 1.14.2 and Livy 6.21.4) or as an *ἀποικία* in a Greek text (Signia and Circeii: Dion. Hal. 4.63; Antium: Dion. Hal. 9.59.2; Sutrium: Diod. 14.117).

5 Cornell 1995, 15; Bandelli 1995, passim, Forsythe 2005,

190. Cornell (1995, 319) even states that 'colonial foundations are among the most reliable items recorded in the annalistic sources, and there is no reason to doubt the accuracy of these reports.' See also Oakley 1997, 57-62 and 341-344. Implicitly, he seems to trust the information in Livy on the foundation of the colonies, most clearly so in note 155 on page 62. See also page 53, where he sees 'no reason to reject' the reports on minor magistracies, such as the colonial triumvirs at Ardea (Livy 3.1.6) and Nepet (Livy 6.21.4).

6 See e.g. Gosden 2004, 1-3; Osborne 1998, 251-252.

7 Three of the fifteen colonies listed in fig. 1 cannot be identified with any archaeological site with certainty: Pometia, Labici and Vitellia. The location of Labici and Vitellia is still elusive, although some proposals have been made. For Labici, Quilici et al. (1984, 16-18) propose a location near modern-day Colonna, in the northern part of the Colli Albani. Torelli (1999, 22) opts for Monte Compatri, located near Colonna. He also proposes the identification of the site of Artena with Vitellia (Torelli 1999, 19). For Pometia, there are two rival candidates: present-day Le Ferriere, also identified with the ancient site of Satricum (as proposed by Conrad Stibbe in AA.VV. 1982, 19-21; Stibbe 1987; the hypothesis was accepted by Coarelli 1982, 289; Torelli 1988, 67; Cornell 1995, 210; Gnade 2002, 151-152, but rejected by Quilici Gigli 1990d, 233 and Chiabà 2006, 97, note 35) and a site near Cisterna di Latina, possibly the site at Caprifico (Brandizzi Vittucci 1968, 137-140; Melis/Quilici Gigli 1972).

8 See Attema/Van Leusen 2004, 158.

9 E.g. Livy 6.16.6-7 on Satricum. For an ethnically mixed composition of the colonial population, see Livy 4.11.4 on Ardea; Livy 4.1.7 and Dion. Hal. 9.59.2 on Antium.

10 This is the case in Cora, Fidenae, Velitrae, Antium, Ardea, Satricum, Sutrium and Nepet. Only the regal colonies at Signia and Circeii and the colonies of Norba and Setia seem to have been founded largely *ex novo*, although in each case some signs of previous occupation are present. On Signia: Incitti 1990; Cassieri 1997, 204; Cifarelli 2003, 23. On Circeii: Calzecchi-Onesti/Tamburini 1981-1982, 59. On Norba: Quilici Gigli 1993-1994, 288; De' Spagnolis 2003. On Setia: Zaccheo/Pasquali 1972, 35; Attema/Van Leusen 2004, 177.

11 See Salmon 1969, 41; Cornell 1995, 302.

12 As already noted by Salmon (1969, 42): 'How numerous the colonists were, or how selected, what proportion were Romans and what not, how they reached the sites - these are matters about which practically nothing is known.'

13 This discussion is closely tied to the discussion of the exact relationship between the Romans and the Latins in the *foedus Cassianum* in general, which has for instance focussed on the question who had military command in joint campaigns; cf. Forsythe 2005, 188; Ampolo 1990, 124; Cornell 1995, 299.

14 Alföldi 1963, 368-369.

15 Salmon 1969, 41.

16 Cornell 1995, 302.

17 Ampolo 1990, 122 (note 6); Coarelli 1992, 22; Oakley 1997, 343; Hermon 1998, 147; Forsythe 2005, 187.

18 Torelli 1988, 68; 1999, 22.

19 E.g. Coarelli 1992, 23. The title of this article is revealing in this respect: 'Colonizzazione e municipalizzazione: tempi e modi.'

20 E.g. Laffi 2007, 16: 'L'espansione di Roma in Italia e la conquista dell'egemonia mediterranea vanno di pari passo con lo sviluppo del fenomeno della colonizzazione.'

21 E.g. Egidi 1981, 67 on Setia: 'Nel più ampio disegno di espansione e di rafforzamento delle posizioni romano-latine sui monti Lepini occidentali e lungo la direttrice della via pedemontana rientra la deduzione di una colonia a *Setia* (…).'

22 E.g. Pracchia et. al. 1998, 116: 'Durante il regno del suo ultimo re etrusco, Tarquinio il Superbo, Roma deduce due colonie quali *praesidia* della sua futura espansione: una sulla costa, a Circeii, l'altra all'interno, a *Signia*.'

23 Recently, this kind of projection and its misleading consequences for our conceptualisation of the colonies have been exposed in relation to the colonies founded during the Middle Republic; see Crawford 1995, Fentress 2000, Bispham 2006, Bradley 2006a, 2006b, Pelgrom 2008.

24 E.g. Forsythe (2005, 190) states that 'many of these colonies were situated on easily defensible high grounds and were fortified with stone walls.' See below for a reassessment of this statement.

25 See, for example, Salmon 1985, 13.

26 E.g. Bandelli 1995, 151; Torelli 1999, 18; Chiabà 2006, 102. Each of these authors refers to Coarelli 1982, and more specifically to the example of the date of the polygonal walls of Signia, dated by Coarelli in the late sixth or early fifth century, and thus nicely corresponding to the (second) foundation date of Signia in 495. However, this early date for the walls at Segni is by no means certain, and most scholars suggest a later date in the course of the 5th century or even in the 4th century. Cf. Navarra 1982, 427 (following Lugli); De Rossi 1988; Cassieri 1997, 204; Cifarelli 2003, 38.

27 An important example is the case of the Juno Sospita antefix, which will be treated below. See also Torelli 1999, 24-25 on the statuettes of Aeneas and Anchises present in Veii and its territory in the period after the Roman conquest.

28 Although such examples have often been ignored in the traditional accounts of early Roman colonisation, the existence of other forms of colonisation was already recognised by Jean Bayet (1938, 354-355).

29 Dion. Hal. 4.63.1: '(…) τὴν μὲν καλουμένην Σιγνίαν οὐ κατὰ προαίρεσιν, ἀλλ'ἐκ ταὐτομάτου, χειμασάντων ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ κατασκευασαμένων τὸ στρατόπεδον ὡς μηδὲν διαφέρειν πόλεως (...)'. Translation from the Loeb edition.

30 Livy 7.38; see Bradley 2006b, 169.

31 Raaflaub 1993, 130.

32 Cornell 1995, 143. For the phenomenon of warlords, see also Torelli 1999, 16-17 and Forsythe 2005, 198-199.

33 See Coarelli 1990, 152; Bandelli 1995, 155.

34 Ampolo 1976-1977; Bradley 2006b, 165-166.

35 Bradley 2006b, 166.

36 An important early contribution is Càssola 1988, especially 17. See also Coarelli 1990, 152 on the possible involvement of *gentes*; Torelli 1988, 67 and 1999, 17-18 on the involvement of warlords and their private armies.

37 Bradley 2006b, 169; Chiabà 2006, 105.

38 Gros/Torelli 2007, 117.

39 See Cornell 1995, 144-145.

40 Cornell 1995, 311. For the campaign of the Fabii: Livy 2.48-50.

41 E.g. Gros/Torelli 2007, 114-115.

42 Bradley 2006b, 171.

43 Torelli 1999, 18.

[44] See Lackner 2008, 232-233 for general remarks on the urban layout of the early colonies in Latium.

[45] In Signia, the urban plan and the walls should be understood as a centrally planned project, dated in the course of the fifth or even the early 4th century (Navarra 1982, 427; De Rossi 1992, 61; Cifarelli 2003, 9 and 38). An important indication for the existence of the defensive wall in Signia can be found in Livy 7.8.6, where the walls of Signia are mentioned in 362 BC (see Cifarelli 2003, 37). In the case of Circeii, it has recently been convincingly argued that the polygonal walls and orthogonal layout at San Felice Circeo should be dated in the 4th century, and the polygonal walls on the so-called acropolis even later (Quilici/Quilici Gigli 2005, 140-142). In Norba, the first phase of the defensive walls and the first orthogonal layout are both dated in the course of the 4th century (on the walls: Quilici/Quilici Gigli 2000, especially 239-244; on the urban layout: Quilici/Quilici Gigli 1988), although they do not seem to have been planned at the same time (Quilici/Quilici Gigli 2000, 243).

[46] Most Archaic structures known in Fidenae continue to be used in the 5th century; e.g. Di Gennaro et al. 2001, 212 (nr. 56), 236-237 (nr. 16). Only in the 4th century, a contraction of the habitation area is visible (Quilici/Quilici Gigli 1986, 163-165). The defensive wall in *opus quadratum* is dated in the Archaic period by Quilici/Quilici Gigli 1986, 380, although this date seems to be based mainly on the assumption that the settlement must have had a proper defense system in this period.

[47] Brandizzi Vittucci 1968, 38-39; Crescenzi/Tortorici 1981, 28; Morselli 1987, 412; Cassieri 1994, 300.

[48] Palombi 2000, 100-101; 2003, 210-211, especially note 35.

[49] Lugli 1940, 160 suggests a date in the 5th or 4th century. Guaitoli 1984, 370 and Guidi 1994, 269 both suggest a date in the 5th century.

[50] Brandizzi Vittucci 2000, 123, 151.

[51] Morselli/Tortorici 1982, 36.

[52] Morselli/Tortorici 1982, 36.

[53] Crescenzi/Tortorici 1984, 349; Morselli/Tortorici 1982, 42.

[54] Crescenzi et al. 1981, 28; Morselli/Tortorici 1982, 37, 61-62.

[55] Pasquali 1994, 321 suggests that the (later) Roman town of Setia had an orthogonal plan, but she offers no clear arguments.

[56] See already Armstrong 1915, 44; also Lugli 1957, 144; Zaccheo/Pasquali 1972, 103.

[57] Bruckner 2000, 103.

[58] Morselli 1980, 21; Edwards et. al. 1995, 434.

[59] On Sutrium: Lugli 1957, 277; Duncan 1958, 69; Potter 1979, 90. On Nepet: Guzzetti 2000, 90.

[60] In the case of Sutrium, Duncan (1958, 69) states that the builders could be either the Roman colonists or the Etruscans. Potter (1979, 90-92) argues for a construction of the walls by the Etruscans. In a recent article, Quilici (2008, 71) argues that the walls were built in 'Roman' technique. He therefore dates the first phase of the walls in the period immediately after the foundation of a colony at Sutrium. In the case of Nepet, Francocci (2006, 46) signals the problem, but does not offer a solution. Note that this problem has only been recognised in the cases of Sutrium and Nepet, and not in other colonies where the wall is dated to the period of the colonial foundation. Possibly, in Sutrium and Nepet a more active role of the population present prior to the foundation of the colony is presumed because they were not Latins and therefore more likely to feel threatened by Roman expansion. Conversely, it is often presupposed that the Latin cities welcomed the colonists as they could provide help against the threat of the Volscians. Although this may be the case, we should keep open the possibility that the colonists were not always welcome in the Latin towns.

[61] For example, in the 4th century a defensive wall was built or restructured in many Latin settlements: see Guaitoli 1984, 373.

[62] At Satricum, there are no indications for the construction of defensive works in the period after the historical foundation date of the colony. The archaic urban layout seems to have lost its function already a century before this date, although the precise developments remain unclear (Gnade 1992, 15-16; Attema et al. 1992; Gnade 1999, 42-45). In the period after the colony's foundation date, no new developments are known. Note, however, that the funerary evidence from Satricum presents a different picture: in the so-called southwest necropolis, the latest graves seem to date to the early 4th century (Gnade 2002, 122). This is tentatively linked to the foundation of the colony (Gnade 2007, 65).

[63] Material related to temples has been found in nine of the twelve colonies; only in Antium, Sutrium and Nepet there is no evidence for the existence of a temple in the period of the early colony. Votive materials have been found in all colonies except for Sutrium and Nepet. These will not be studied here though, as they often span a long period and they have not been studied well enough to offer a fine chronological resolution which would be necessary to recognise the possible impact of the colony.

[64] Cifarelli 1993; 2003, 32.

[65] Cifarelli 1997, 27-28; 2003, 178; Pracchia et al. 1998, 120.

[66] Cébeillac Gervasoni 1987, 306; Quilici 1990, 217.

[67] Quilici/Quilici Gigli 1986, 388-392.

[68] Fortunati 1990, 200.

[69] Quilici Gigli 1990b, 214; 1996, 40.

[70] Colonna 1984, 409; Quilici Gigli 1990a, 194; Manca di Mores 1993, 311-312; Torelli 1999, 20.

[71] This is exemplified by the fact that temples from the 5th century are also known from settlements that received a colony as late as the 4th century (e.g. Satricum, Setia-Tratturo Caniò), and from settlements that never received a colony at all (e.g. Lanuvium and Ariccia; see the discussion of the Juno Sospita antefixes below). In this respect, the case of Ardea (Colle della Noce) deserves special attention, as it is dated after the broader boom in temple building of the early 5th century and is even among the largest building projects known from Latium in the later 5th century.

[72] See Rendeli 1989, specifically p. 64, for Roman influence in the plan and architecture of temples in Latium in the early 5th century, using the model of the *Capitolium* important in later Roman colonies. It should be noted however, that the presence of a Capitolium is not a characterising element in any of the settlements here under study; the only temples with a tripartite cella known are from Ardea (Colle della Noce and probably the temple on the so-called acropolis), where an identification as a Capitolium, although proposed, has not found much acceptance (Morselli/Tortorici 1982, 71 with references; Colonna 1984, 409; Cancellieri 1994, 65). Note that the temple at Segni, an important element in Rendeli's argument, is now dated in the late 2nd century (Cifarelli 2003, 68-78).

[73] Cristofani 1987, specifically 115-118.

[74] E.g. Carlucci 2006, 16; Cifani 2008, 286. Most explicit about the possible political implications is Waarsenburg 1996, 38-39. See also Quilici Gigli 1990c, 153 on Roman influence in Antemnae.

[75] E.g. in the case of Circeii (Calzecchi-Onesti/Tamburini 1981-1982, 56; Quilici/Quilici Gigli 2005, 143), Fidenae (Quilici/Quilici Gigli 1986, 388-392) and Norba (Quilici Gigli 1996, 40).

[76] See recently Carlucci 2006, where these three types appear as G VIII, G IX and G X. In Riis 1981, G VIII is type 13F and G IX is 14F, while he does not list Carlucci's type G X. See note 78 for a full list of antefixes of type G VIII. Antefixes of type G IX have been found in Satricum (Attema et al.1985, 81) and Falerii (Carlucci 2006, 9). Specimens of type G X are known from Antemnae (AA.VV. 1981, 49) and Falerii (Andrèn 1940, 99).

[77] Colonna (1995, 14-15) proposes an identification as Juno Sospita for four antefixes which, according to him, can all be dated in the first half of the 4th century: one from Ardea-Colle della Noce (Colonna 1995, 14), two from Lavinium (Castagnoli 1972, 33 and Castagnoli et al. 1975, 179) and one from Ariccia (Pensabene/Sanzi di Mino 1983, 114). Both specimens from Lavinium were also identified as Juno Sospita by Riis (1981, 35-36), who lists them as type 21E. The identification of the specimen from Ariccia as Juno Sospita seems to me not to be totally convincing.

[78] Three specimens are known from Rome; one from the Forum, possibly related to the temple of Castor and Pollux, and two from the Palatine (Cristofani 1990, 63: 3.4.2 and 91: 4.1.5 and 4.1.6). The other specimens with a known provenance are from Satricum (Attema et al. 1985, 81), Lavinium-eastern sanctuary (AA.VV. 1981, 196), Sezze-Tratturo Caniò (Bruckner 2003, 94-95), Fidenae (Quilici/Quilici Gigli 1986, 106), Segni (Cifarelli 2003, 131), Norba (Andrèn 1940, 387), Ardea-Casarinaccio (Stefani 1954, 24), and Falerii-Sassi Caduti (Andrèn 1940, 112).

[79] Personal communication by R.R. Knoop. Together with P.S. Lulof, he is working on the publication of the roof decoration systems of the sanctuary of Mater Matuta at Satricum.

[80] Information lacks on Circeii (Lugli 1928 mentions only later sites), Sutrium (very few sites from the period under study are known; see Duncan 1958, 76 and Potter 1979, 90 (table 3) and 96 (table 4)) and Nepet (data collected by various surveys seem to contradict each other; compare Camilli et al. 1995, 397-399 where a decline in habitation in the 4th century is proposed, to Di Gennaro et al. 2002, 41-44, where no such decline is recognised).

[81] Signia: Attema/Van Leusen 2004, 173. Cora: Attema 1993, 122. Antium: De Haas/Tol 2005. Setia: Attema/Van Leusen 2004, 176.

[82] Peter Attema (2001) has suggested that the increase in sites in the area in the early 5th century may be connected to an earlier colonisation in this area than that recorded in the written sources for Setia.

[83] Ardea: Crescenzi et al. 1981, 14; Crescenzi/Tortorici 1984, 347-248. Velitrae: Drago Troccoli 2003, 151

[84] At Norba, the area immediately below the settlement, around Doganella di Ninfa, has been surveyed: Van Leusen 1998; Attema/Van Leusen 1999, 29. At Satricum, an area ca 5 km south of the settlement has been surveyed as part of a survey in the Astura valley: Attema et al. 2005, 97; Attema 2008, 22.

[85] Quilici/Quilici Gigli 1986, 382-384; Di Gennaro et al. 2004.

[86] Di Gennaro et al. 2004, 116.

[87] On Signia: Pracchia et al. 1998, 120; Cassieri/Lutazzi 1985, 203; Giuliani/Luttazzi 1990, 56. Ideas on the exact developments in the settlement system around Norba vary. Until recently, it was assumed that the various hilltop settlements around Norba (e.g. Serrone di Bove, Monte Carbolino and Monte Gentile) were most intensively inhabited during the Archaic period and lost their importance to Norba after the foundation of the colony (Attema 1991, 91; Quilici Gigli 1993-1994, 289). It has now been proposed however, that the defensive walls at some of these sites were only built during the Post Archaic period, and that they may have functioned in relation to the colony at Norba (Van Leusen et al. 2005, 323).

[88] See Attema 1993, 122 for the abandonment of Cisterna around 500.

[89] In general: Attema 2000, 119-121; De Haas 2008, 22. See for example Attema 2005, 151 on the territory of Lanuvium, where the continuation of a dense settlement pattern from the 6th century well into the 5th century is attested.

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Excavations at *I Castiedd' di San Pancrazio Salentino*, Southern Italy

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Abstract

In the last decades the Salento peninsula has become a laboratory for archaeological research of pre-Roman, indigenous societies in Southern Italy. Since the early 1980's, the Archaeological Centre of the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam *has contributed to this research by carrying out excavations, field surveys and remote sensing techniques in a range of landscape and settlement types throughout the northern half of the peninsula. In recent years, it has focused its attention amongst others on the site of* I Castiedd' di San Pancrazio Salentino, *located in an area only marginally documented archaeologically. This article presents the preliminary results of the 2007 excavations that were carried out in close collaboration with the Royal Netherlands Institute at Rome and the* Università del Salento. *These excavations brought to light a series of houses which were organized along a well defined street pattern. In combination with the field surveys carried out in the same area, the digs indicate that the site of* I Castiedd' *was among the larger pre-Roman, indigenous settlements of Salento and that it was continuously occupied from the early Iron age until the early Empire.*

Introduction

Thanks to the rise of modern landscape archaeology, the ancient Mediterranean world is increasingly showing up as a highly differentiated patchwork of human settlement. In particular intensive field surveys attest to the complexity of local and regional settlement patterns, discovering a surprisingly wide range of sites besides the classical Greek and Roman town that has traditionally dominated archaeological research. This is certainly the case for Italy where archaeologists are no longer focused only on the urban success of Rome or that of the Italiote citystates in the south. They now also investigate the lowlands, uplands, intermontane basins and valleys in between them, revealing that many of these regions harboured a variegated network of sites, including complex fortified strongholds with urban characteristics, as early as the Archaic period.

The Salento peninsula, in the heel of Italy, offers a strong case in point (*fig. 1*). Here, the *Scuola di Specializzazione in Archeologia Classica e Medievale 'Dinu Adamesteanu'* of the *Università del Salento* has developed into a centre of expertise on the regional archaeology, not only through a series of well defined field projects, but also by the use of advanced data recording and processing techniques.[1] This tradition goes back to the 1960's. As early as 1964, it was the University of Lecce (now called *Università del Salento*) that paved the road for settlement and landscape archaeology in the heel of Italy by launching a long term excavation programme at the site of Cavallino, in collaboration with the *Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa* (*fig. 1*).[2] This project has demonstrated how Cavallino, around mid-6th century BC, underwent major changes and acquired an urban appearance, with monumental fortifications and rectangular house plans arranged in large habitation quarters flanking paved roads.

More field projects were to follow, focusing on other large, complex sites such as Vaste, Oria and

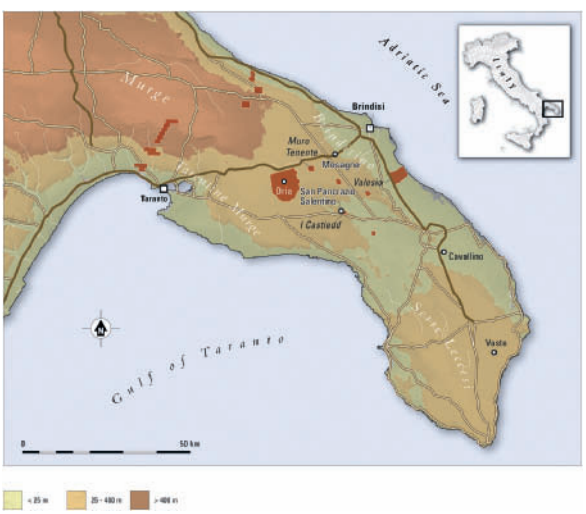

Fig. 1. Map of Salento with sites mentioned in the text. The ACVU-field survey areas are indicated in dark brown.

Valesio (*fig.* 1).[3] These involved Italian and foreign institutions alike, including the Archaeological Institute (now Archaeological Centre) of the *Vrije Universiteit of Amsterdam (ACVU).* Apart from excavating, the ACVU was the first to launch systematic field surveys in Salento, in the early 1980's. These surveys have demonstrated that major, fortified sites like Oria and Valesio, from the late 4th century BC were to become central places of large territories filled with rural sites of all types, including isolated farmsteads, clusters of farms, larger villages, sanctuaries, tombs and watch towers.[4]

While the study of the rural phenomenon was the main objective of the earliest ACVU surveys in Salento in the 1990's a new project was launched by the same institute to investigate a representative sample of the central places, in order to better understand their chronology, spatial and functional configuration and also the relationship to the immediate countryside and to the regional settlement system at large. To that aim, first a more refined survey strategy was developed to tackle such complex sites.[5] Subsequently, at two of the sites, Muro Tenente and *I Castiedd'*, the site-surveys were followed by large scale excavations (*fig. 1*).[6] The present article reports on the results of the excavations at the site of *I Castiedd'* carried out by the ACVU in 2007, in close collaboration with the Royal Netherlands Institute at Rome and the *Università del Salento*.

Fig. 2. Contrada Castiedd'. *Aerial photograph of the site, acquired with Google Earth 4.3.7. Red line: centre. Orange line: total extent. White line: field investigated with excavations (no 24 of sheet 34 of the San Pancrazio Salentino cadastral map).*

Fig. 3. View of the contrada Castiedd' *(from SW).*

Previous archaeological research, present objectives

The existence of an archaeological site in *contrada Castiedd'*, just east of the modern village of San Pancrazio Salentino, has long been induced only from incidental finds such as Italiote Greek ceramics, inscriptions and coins.[7] Academic interest dates only from 1967, when Cosimo Pagliara, of Lecce University, formally records that the *contrada* was renown for its tomb-robbing and that recent deep-ploughing activities had cancelled traces of ancient walls and houses, still visible up to a few years before.[8] In addition, in 1990 Francesco D'Andria reports the accidental find of a hoard of 300 bronze axes and lance heads.[9] According to D'Andria, they probably belong to the same settlement context as the dump of over 500 fragments of Iapygian geometric vessels from the Iron Age, which was discovered in *contrada Castiedd'* in 1984.

In the early 1990's the site was included in the ACVU field survey programme mentioned above. On the basis of the extant data, it was thought to hide a complex indigenous settlement that was admirably suited for an intensive survey.[10] During these surveys, the core of the site was identified on a 14 ha east-west orientated ridge on top of a natural platform (55-60 m above sea level) which extends over the whole area of the *contrada Castiedd'* (*fig. 2*). In comparison to the plain to the north-east, the site is in a somewhat elevated position, allowing a view of several fortified ancient settlements, Oria being the most prominent among them at a distance of about 20 km (above *fig. 1*). At *I Castiedd'* itself, fortifications have been recorded only fairly recently, on the basis of oral information from the past.[11] In the course of the field surveys this information was verified, resulting in the identification of only faint traces of walls or other features, which could possibly be interpreted as part of a defense system. If, indeed, it once existed, such a system is likely to have been virtually obliterated by modern agricultural practices and in particular the arrangement of the vineyards that dominate the present-day landscape (*fig. 3*).

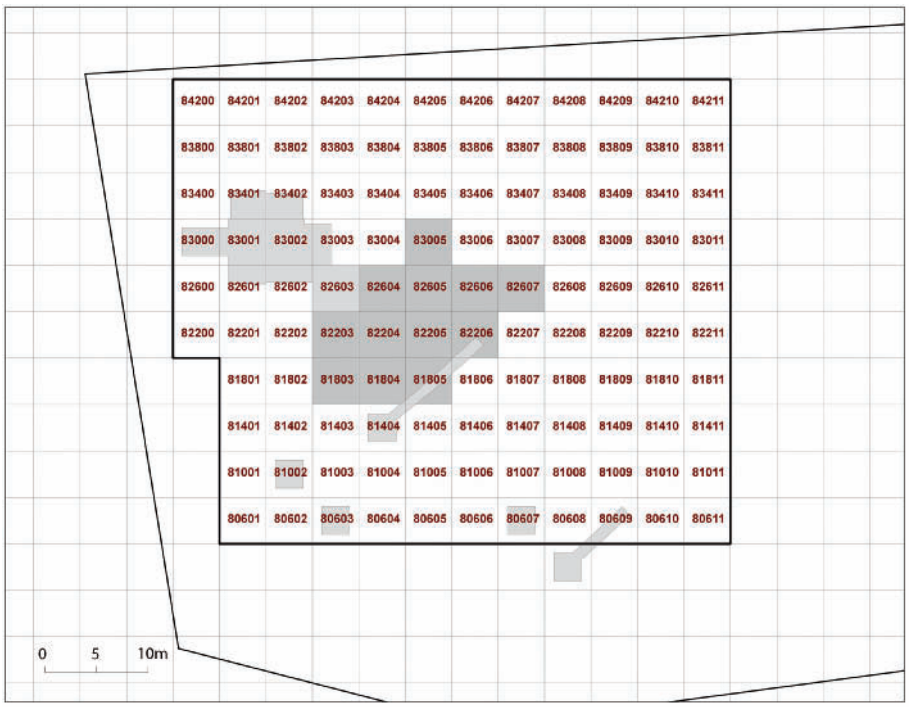

Fig. 4. Grid-system of the 2007 trench. Light grey: the earlier test pits. Dark grey: first grids excavated in 2007.

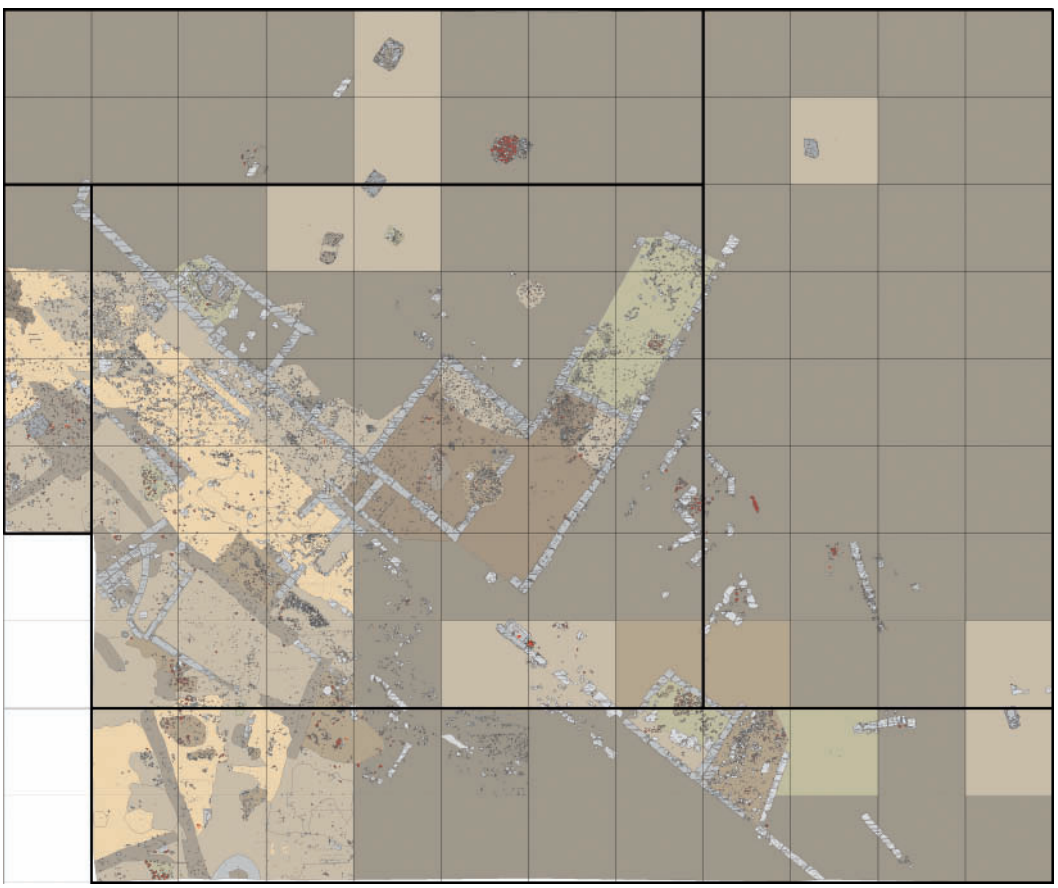

Fig. 5. Digitized plan of the 2007 excavations.

Fig. 6. Overall view of the 2007 excavations (from N).
Fig. 7. Ploughing marks showing up on the ancient walls in the 2007 trench.

The field surveys pointed out that the site had been continuously occupied from the 8th century BC until the 1st century AD. It reached its maximum expansion of some 50 ha in the early Hellenistic period, in the late 4th and 3rd centuries BC. Considering that the surface debris dating to this phase is made up of a series of large and dense, but spatially separated, concentrations of ceramics, the settlement can be hypothesized to have been composed of a series of separate habitation clusters. They all seem to circle around the above mentioned 14 ha large ridge, which most probably constituted the central built-up area of the site (*fig.* 2). In 1999 and 2001, near the heart of the site, small test trenches were excavated with the aim of formulating working hypotheses on the relationship between surface debris and extant stratigraphies and also to identify potentially interesting zones for further digging.[12] These trenches were dug in the midst of an arable field bordering the vineyards that hide the very centre of the ancient settlement. The excavations actually uncovered stretches of an ancient road leading in the direc-

tion of that centre, and also traces of adjoining houses. The 2007 excavations extended these test trenches, opening up one large, 2900 m² in the same field (*figs 4-6*). The specific aim of these excavations was to contribute to the analysis of:

1. depositional and post-depositional processes and in particular the relationship between the extant stratigraphies and the surface debris documented with the field surveys;
2. the spatial organisation and chronology of this part of the settlement.

Results of the 2007 excavations

The excavations carried out at the site of *I Castiedd'* in 2007 are located in the southwestern part of field 24 of sheet 34 of the cadastral map of the Municipality of San Pancrazio Salentino. This large 'open area' trench contained the structures found in the 1999 and 2001 test pits (*fig. 4*). Elaborate research was carried out in two pre-defined zones, along with a few isolated interventions. The total excavated area consisted of 116 grids measuring 5 x 5 m oriented at the cartographic north. To guarantee the presence of well-preserved archaeological remains and to establish at once the appropriate depth, it was decided to first trace the 1999 and 2001 trenches, by opening an encompassing rectangle (30 x 35 m) and enlarging it gradually. Successively, four grids to the west of the initial trench were added, 16 to the north, 32 to the east and 22 to the south. In particular, the eastern half of the area was still *terra incognita*. Here, the field surveys and test trenches had uncovered only very faint settlement traces. Therefore, the expansion to the east was aimed at understanding whether this scarcity of remains was due to preservation circumstances or was a result of the spatial organisation of the ancient settlement. The larger indigenous villages and towns of ancient Salento are known to enclose farmland, necropoleis and production areas within their settlement spaces. The grids opened towards the east might shed light on such variety.

In the whole area of the initial trench, the thoroughly disturbed topsoil was removed to a depth of approximately 60 cm. Already at this depth intact ancient strata appeared, often covered by thin, fluviatile or eolic sediments. Most of these strata were related to a road and adjacent structures, of which the degree of preservation varied significantly. In large parts of the excavated area, post-depositional processes had made a profound impact on the archaeological remains. In the present article, these processes will be addressed first, after which the road and bordering structures that constitute the most complex part of the exposed remains will be assessed. Thereafter, the rooms of the structures and also a number of burials that were excavated in the same trench will be briefly analyzed. Finally, a preliminary synthesis will be presented.

Post-depositional processes

The 60-cm deep topsoil of the investigated field proved to be thoroughly disturbed by ploughing. In some cases depths of 80 cm had even been reached by ploughs, cutting the layers underneath the topsoil. At this level, deep tracks running east-west could be discerned throughout the trench, having damaged amongst others the walls of the structures (*fig. 7*). Many blocks had actually been removed from their original positions. What has remained of the structures primarily belongs to foundation walls.

The first relatively undisturbed ancient layer that was encountered in a large part of the north-eastern section of the trench contained a vast array of mixed archaeological finds that could be related to construction (stones, tiles, clay bricks) as well as domestic activity (grinding-stones, kitchenware, storage vessels), evidently a sign of distorted strata. Furthermore, there was clear evidence of various excavations carried out relatively recently.[13] However, the most prominent features responsible for distorting the ancient structures were clearly visible on the orthorectified, high-contrast aerial photograph of the trench (*fig. 8*). These were elongated trenches with an average width of 80 cm, filled with dark-coloured soil and fragmented pottery and stone material, which had deftly cut through the archaeological layers. In general, these trenches ran either parallel to or as extensions of existing walls and could be interpreted as ghost-walls, robbing trenches of blocks that belonged to the foundation-walls of the structures. They were predominantly visible in the southwestern part of the trench, left of the road.[14]

Most commonly, these ghost-wall trenches cut through other features of the site. In the southwest, however, some of these trenches appeared to have been partly replaced by new blocks as early as in antiquity, prior to the abandonment of the site. With a high degree of confidence, it can be said that the ghost-walls present in grids 81402, 81403 and 81802 are related to surviving walls, and together they constitute the foundations of a building, to which has been attributed a domestic function (the assemblage is composed of impas-

Fig. 8. Orthorectified, high contrast aerial photograph of the 2007 trench.

toid, plain- and coarse-ware pottery along with carbon scatters). Comparable situations can be found in grids 80601 and 81001 or 82200 and 82201, though with an altogether different orientation. Sherds retrieved from the surface accumulation related to these layers suggest at least one frequentation phase in the late 4th to early 3rd centuries BC. This is confirmed by the dating of a ceramic deposit in the same area, which is probably related to a funerary ritual (amongst which are two *gutti* and a black gloss *hydria*). A more specific chronological sequence for the robbing trenches and associated strata is difficult to present, because the area has not yet been the focus of more detailed research.

The road and related structures

The feature that appears most prominently on the aerial photograph is a well-constructed road (*fig. 8*).

Fig. 9. Detail of the upper strata of the road in the 2007 trench.

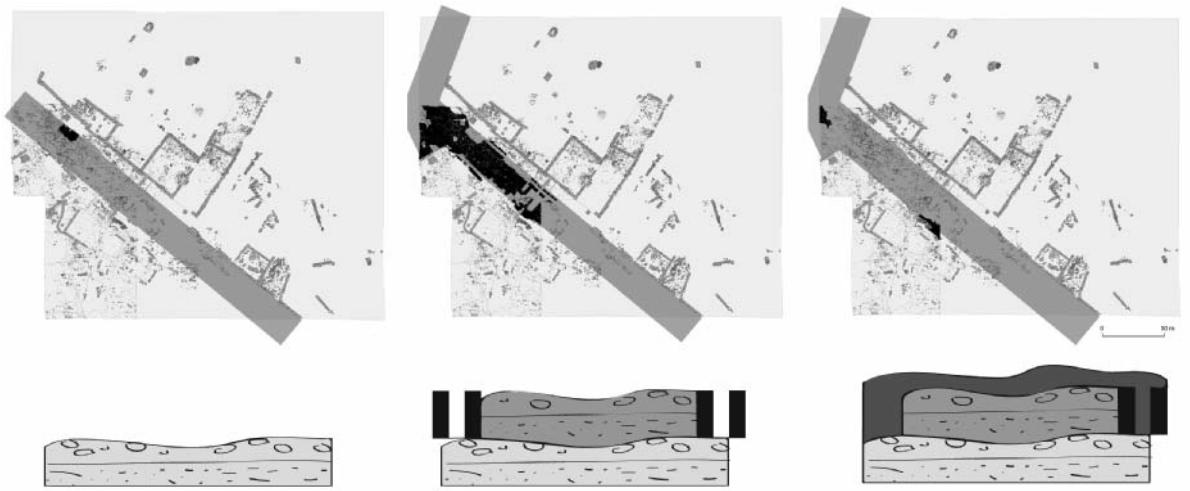

Fig. 10. Plans and simplified sections showing, from left to right, the three successive phases of the road in the 2007 trench. Highlighted are the walls and other traces that are related to the particular phases.

Fig. 11. Detail of northeastern channel bordering the road in the 2007 trench.

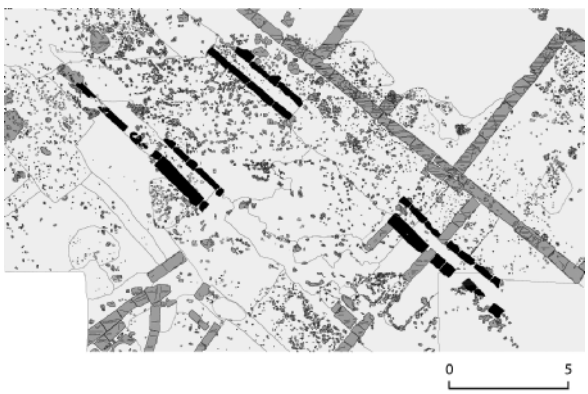

Fig. 12. Plan highlighting the remains of the channels on either side of the road in the 2007 trench.

Its width averages 3.85 m, continuing for approximately 55 m from the central part of the southern edge to the northeastern corner of the trench. The road seems to broaden in grid 82600 as well as in grid 83400, where the lines of stones that define its border curve away from each other, thereby expanding the surface of the road. This expansion probably indicates a junction or perhaps even a square. Whereas the outer limits of the road are well-defined, the stratigraphical phasing is rather complicated.

The top layer of the road consists of a thick layer of hard-pressed calcareous grit (*tufina pressata*) that has been appended to a stratum of limestone cobble-stones (*fig. 9*). It stretches out over a preparatory layer consisting of small, horizontally positioned, pieces of pottery (mainly tiles) and stones. The regular dimensions of the sherds used in this layer indicate that they probably were intentionally fragmented, forming a matrix that likely served as drainage. Under this road (hereafter, called road-phase 2) the sequence of a top level and substratum repeats itself, strongly suggesting the presence of an earlier road (hereafter, called road-phase 1; *fig. 10*). A third phase relates to several patches of grit, which either covered or appended to road-phase 2, and in either case, seem to have enlarged the road.

Two prominent features must be considered in relation to the road. First, the outer limits of phase 2 are flanked at four points by two parallel rows

of common local limestone blocks (*calcarenite*) creating a channel of about 45 cm in width, the bottom of which is covered with small- and medium-sized pebbles (*figs 10-12*). The northern waterway rests on the surface of road-phase 1. Considering the spatial organisation of the area while uniting the remaining walls with the ghost-walls, it can be argued that the channels run for about 30 m, roughly departing from grids 81005 and 81406 and arriving at grids 82600 and 83001. Beyond this, proof of continuation or removal of stones is absent, suggesting that the subsequent construction of new structures has probably erased any trace of the older channels. Since the channels must have functioned as conducts for rainwater, the surface of road-phase 2 probably ran higher than the channel walls, as can be observed in grid 81803. Moreover, they are likely to have been covered with flat cover stones, of which fragments have been found in the surface accumulation surrounding the channels.[15] Surprisingly, in grid 82602, a thick pack of *tufina*-grit, reinforced with large, flat stones and blocks, slightly protrudes into the waterway. This protrusion unambiguously cancels the utility of the channel and must have been placed there intentionally, probably with the purpose of levelling the channel with the road. Another distortion appears in grids 81404, 81803 and 82202, where the entire structure seems to have been replaced with a thick layer of grit. These patches have served to maintain the functionality of the road at a point in time where the channels were obsolete.

A second feature that needs discussion concerns three walls that cut through road-phase 2; that is, two parallel walls adjoining the channel in grids 81803 and 82203 and a third one in grid 81803 (*fig. 13*). Whereas the southern channel has been clearly obstructed by these walls (thereby closing off the waterway and cancelling its function), the northern channel has been left open. In fact, the blocks from one of the walls that intersect the road have been placed between the channel stones. Portions of the northern channel consist of dressed stones, of which a single one is covered with plaster. These can be related to foundation trenches cutting the layers of road-phase 2 as well. The whole construction has at least been restructured with re-used blocks, but it is equally plausible that the channel had only been built at that moment, perhaps to replace the southern one. Moreover, it can be suggested that the northern block of the southern wall of the channel, given its more substantial size of 200 x 55 cm, served a carrying purpose. The idea of an erect

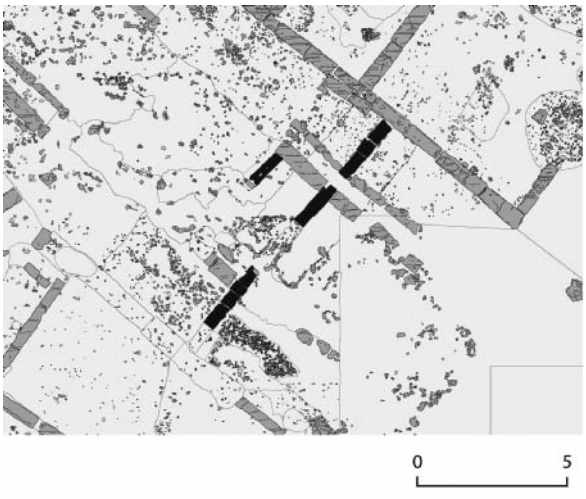

Fig. 13. Plan highlighting the remains of the structure closing off the road in the 2007 trench.

Fig. 14. Plan of the 2007 trench highlighting the excavated rooms.

structure is reinforced by the occurrence of several post-holes that have been cut into the grit between the parallel walls. Because one of them did, in fact, cut the southern intersecting wall in grid 82203, it is evident that these post-holes must have been contemporaneous or subsequent to the structure. The 2001 excavations revealed that the intersecting walls were covered with another layer of grit again, pointing towards a third phase of the road. Although it is not clear how the structure can be interpreted, its plan and the presence of wooden posts hint at a sizeable construction, possibly a gate.

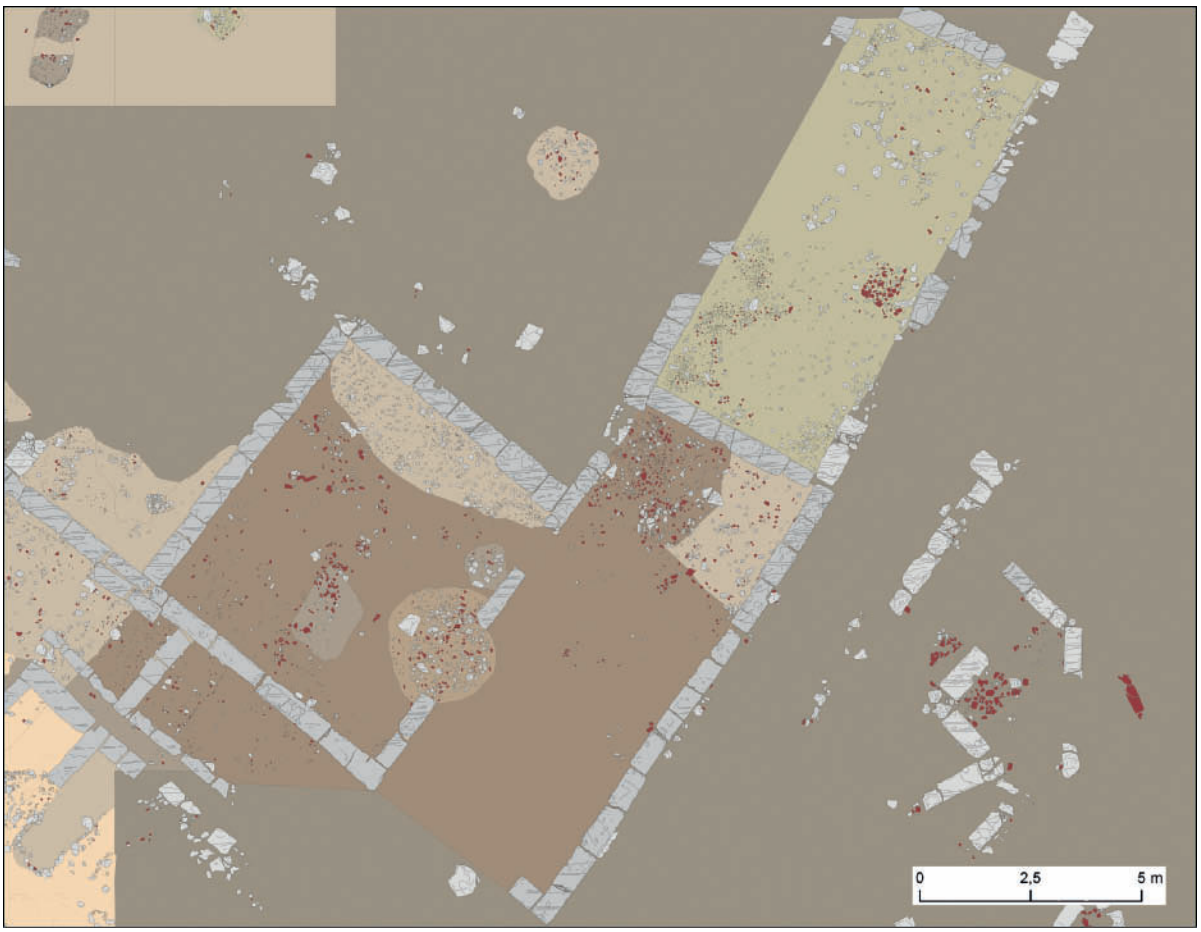

Fig. 15. Plan of rooms B, C and E in the 2007 trench.

Stratigraphical analysis indicates that this construction is related to phase 2, when the road was elevated and provided with the present channels (*fig. 10*). Somewhere during this phase, the intersecting walls were constructed, cutting and rendering obsolete the southern channel and incorporating the northern one. Subsequently, in phase 3, this situation was buried under another road, rendering the northern channel obsolete, which was then partly removed and replaced by a layer of *tufina*-grit. However, not all channel walls were removed during this operation (nor are they attested to have been filled or covered with stones or *tufina*-grit).[16] A possible explanation might be that they were incorporated into buildings that were constructed on top of them. If the three walls are, indeed, components of a gate, road-phase 2 was significantly narrowed, leaving an opening of slightly less than 2.00 m in width. While this does not necessarily alter the function of the road, it does impede any large cart from passing and allows the entrance to be closed completely. It is, therefore, plausible that the road and bordering structures were adapted here to allow for better control of the passage to the centre of the ancient town. Unfortunately, little information could be retrieved on the absolute dating of this structure. Black-gloss fragments dating to the 4th century BC should probably be considered in relation to the foundation trenches dug for insertion of the blocks, following road-phase 2. The block that abuts on room B indicates that the three walls postdate the southern wall of this structure.

The rooms

In the centre of the trench, located to the northeast of the road, the ancient remains are better preserved than in the area to the southwest. Here, a series of rooms can be discerned (*fig. 14*: A, B, C, D, E, F).[17] Though only foundation blocks have been preserved, the rectangular shape of the rooms is clearly visible. The blocks that make up the foundations are overall neatly cut and closely

placed in ranks within foundation trenches. The stones have an average width of 0.5 m and differ considerably in length. They vary from local 'Gravina' limestone (coming from the immediate surroundings) to the limestone of Altamura (distancing at least 2,5 km).

Room A

Room A is an enclosed space of moderate dimensions, 2.9 x 6 m. There is a clear difference in phasing of the foundation walls. This can be deduced from the strange angle in the centre of the southern wall and the cut that appears in the southeastern cornerstone. Moreover, the stone blocks of the wall parallel to the road differ from those used in the other walls of the room. First, they are made of limestone from Altamura instead of the common local limestone type. Second, they are arranged more neatly and do not protrude as much as the other stones. Because the other walls abut against these blocks, it can be concluded that the wall parallel to the road belongs to an older phase.

The most conspicuous feature in room A is a large waste-disposal pit, measuring 2 x 1.6 m, which cuts through the present archaeological layers and far into the natural sediments. The excavation of this pit provided the opportunity to study the relationship between the strata and the walls of the structure. Two layers could be identified, formed by the collapse of walls and the roof, filled with tiles, bricks and relatively small stones, possibly belonging to the two construction phases of the room. The current explanation is that at least in its latest phase, this structure functioned as a passageway or a storage room.

Rooms B/C

Room B measures 7.1 x 6.3 m (*figs 14-15*). Abutting on the façade facing the road are the southeastern and northwestern walls that must, therefore, have been erected subsequently, the northeastern wall adjoining them on its turn and closing the room. The wall parallel to the road differs from the others in the same way as room A, again suggesting an older phase. The southwestern wall is incomplete, due to later interventions, and the blocks are of a more yellowish-grey colour, suggesting a different origin, perhaps pointing to yet another construction phase. The wall parallel to the road must have featured at least a second, dry-appended, row of blocks of less width and limited proportions, of which one block has been preserved, measuring 1.07 x 0.35 m. Several circular holes, cut in the walls, can be interpreted as post holes that must have held beams that maintained a roof structure. The double row of stones that can be found at the northwestern angle continue in the northwestern direction and might have provided extra support to the building. From the presence of a ghost-wall in grid 83004, it can be inferred that the northwest wall at some point continued towards the northeast. This indicates that this area was at a certain point an integral part of a structure that incorporated room B. The walls of at least the latest phase have been decorated with red plaster, which was found in considerable densities in the surface accumulation related to the structure. In domestic contexts of indigenous towns of Salento, such plaster is commonly found only in rooms that are believed to have a representative function.

The archaeological strata related to this room proved to be disturbed. The layers showed a thoroughly mixed matrix of tiles, pottery, clay bricks and plaster. Moreover, at some spots distortions were excavated that revealed materials ranging from the 7th/6th century BC to the 1st/2nd centuries AD, the latter providing a *terminus post quem* for these interferences.[18] The in-situ remains excavated in room B are, therefore, few. An interesting feature is a thick and hard-packed layer of small stones and white calcareous material. This layer appends partly to the larger part of the northeastern wall and to a small part of the northwestern wall, and partly forms a dense concentration south of these walls. This feature starts where the wall shows a considerable vertical depression and is accordingly interpreted as an effort to level the wall. Directly underneath this layer, a hard pack of soil was encountered, consisting of clean, dark clay with few inclusions, thought to constitute a pavement of beaten earth. Because this layer abuts on the northeastern wall, it must be interpreted as a floor-level pertaining to the latest phase of the structure, which has been covered with the remains of the collapsed wall. In this floor-level, a child burial was found within an impastoid *pythos*, resembling the *enchytrismos* ritual type. The custom to bury the very young within domestic space is well-known in this area.

Room C is defined by three walls that enclose a space of 10.6 x 4.1 m (*figs 14-15*). The southern wall of this room consists only of one stone. This stone and the first six blocks of the southeastern wall are limestone from Altamura and in all aspects resemble the walls parallel to the road in rooms A and B. The northern block of the northwestern wall continues beyond the closing northeastern wall, which indicates that room E had been

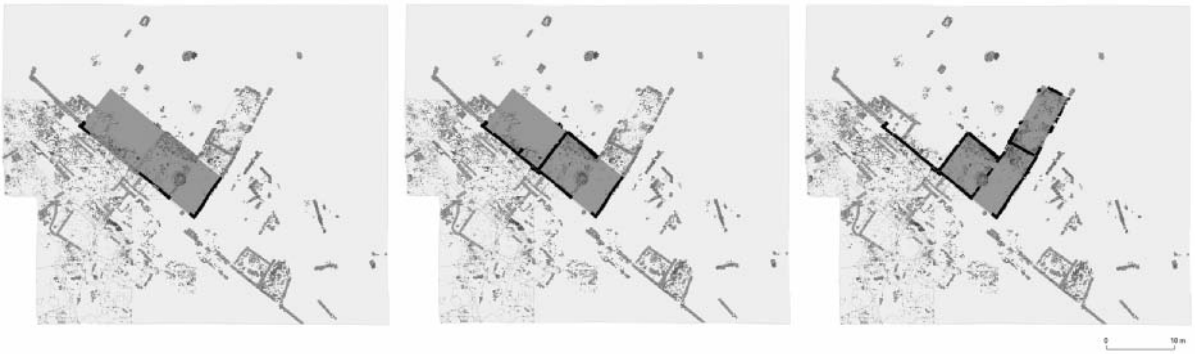

Fig. 16. From left to right: hypothetical sequence in construction and use of rooms A, B, C and E.

Fig. 17.
Aerial photo of rooms D and F in the 2007 trench.

constructed contemporaneously. The blocks of this wall are relatively small and are not really comparable to those of the adjoining northeastern wall of room B. In fact, the remarkably larger blocks of the northwestern wall of room B abut on the northwest wall of room C. This seems to indicate that they might not have been built contemporaneously.

Fig. 18. Plan of the 2007 trench higlighting the location of burials I-IV.

Although the archaeological layers inside the walls are as distorted as in room B, a clear distinction between two different zones can be made; there is a change in blocks in the southwestern wall, where a band of dark soil visibly divides room C. Whilst the northern part is characterized by a dense concentration of stones, tiles and pottery, probably remains of another disturbed layer or collapse, the southern part consists of a stratum that contains less material, though heterogeneous in composition and inclusions. The band of dark soil probably indicates a ghost-wall that originally connected to the northeastern wall of room B. This suggests that the southern part of the structure probably belonged to a phase which incorporated room B. Subsequently, the wall was removed, the northern and southeastern walls were appended, as well as room E (not yet fully excavated). The pottery found in relation to the walls, dating to the Hellenistic period, indicates a domestic function also for the Hellenistic phase of room C.

In conclusion, the construction of rooms A, B and C provides evidence for at least three phases (*fig. 16*). Phase I is represented by the wall with blocks of Altamura limestone, parallel to the road and lying perfectly aligned among the three rooms. With the current state of research it is impossible to reconstruct the layout of this oldest phase. However, considering the length of the phase I wall that has been preserved, this structure is likely to have been subdivided into at least two rooms. In phase II the above wall is largely left intact, but local limestone blocks have been added to create the northwestern and northeastern walls of room B. The ghost-wall that joins the northeastern wall of room B can be reconstructed to reach room A.

In phase III, the wall connecting the southeastern wall of room C to the northeastern wall of room B has been partly removed, the southwestern wall of room B has been constructed, room C has been extended and room E has been added, creating an L-shaped building. In this third phase, room A might be adapted to its final plan.

The L-shaped composition of rooms B, C and E seems to hint at the possibility that they were previously part of a structure laid out around an inner courtyard, comprising the area covered by the grids 83403-83406 and 83003-83006. This supposed inner courtyard seems to have been largely empty, except for some isolated features (*fig. 8*). These features might actually be interpreted as postholes, possibly related to a simple wooden structure.

Rooms D/F

In the southeastern area of the trench, parallel to the northeastern limit of the road, a quadrangular room of relatively small dimensions, 4.3 x 3.4 m, has been excavated (*fig. 17*; cf. *fig. 14*). In structure D, like in room C, local limestone blocks predominate. The northwestern and southeastern sidewalls abut on the façade facing the road. With the help of a fourth wall to the northeast, the quadrangle is complete. Also, there is evidence to suggest that the room was part of a larger complex, very likely being associated with the walls in grids 81407, 81408 and 81808. Anomalous to this plan are the stones (limestone from Altamura) that traverse the enclosed area: a slightly curved wall of relatively large, marginally worked stones that departs about 1 m from the southwestern corner of room D. The blocks continue towards the northwest, turning 90 degrees about half a meter before reaching the northwestern wall, and eventually continue towards the northeast. This wall is certainly older than the walls of room D, as evidenced by the fact that the former is cut by the latter. As yet, no connecting walls have been identified.

The upper part of the layers investigated in room D contained the remains of collapsed walls and a roof, consisting of an assemblage of tiles, stones and clay bricks. These objects were mixed with small finds of at least one frequentation level; animal bones, pieces of metal and pottery. In addition to the household ceramics, discards were found of more refined pots, like a lion's protome broken off a black-gloss vessel, which was probably a burial gift. The concentration of material was most dense directly above and partly in between the in-situ remains of a medium-sized dolium. The fill of this vessel contained a lot of plain ware, impastoid and local black-gloss fragments, all datable to the 4th-3rd centuries BC.

The first apparently undisturbed layer consists of a band of small- and medium- sized, irregularly shaped stones that stretches out alongside the Altamura limestone blocks. Although no other construction material has been found in relation to this concentration, the position of the stones suggests that they are part of a collapsed wall. The matrix of the layer directly underneath this wall has relinquished a rather homogeneous series of 7th/6th- centuries impastoids. These can most likely be seen in connection with a floor level of a dwelling, of which the excavated wall was a part. Further digging is needed to prove our working hypothesis that the lay-out of this dwelling is similar to that of the many contemporary, curvilinear huts excavated in Salento.

While cleaning the first layer of hard-packed clay, stones and some tiles in room F, a large amount of residual material related to iron-working was encountered. This particular area may have been a small courtyard. The rather skewed shape of the room, with a width of 4.2 m in the southern part and 3.2 m in the northern part, coupled with the fact that the space is not closed off by a wall in the northeast, fits well with this picture.

Burial

Apart from the above-mentioned *enchytrismos* burial, the 2007 excavations at *I Castiedd'* have uncovered four graves, numbered burials I to IV (*fig. 18*). The oldest two burials are pit-graves (*fossa terragna*). Both gave up a single skeleton in foetal position, positioned in a simple ditch that was covered with large, stone slabs. These burials are located in the northern half of the trench. The earliest one (III, *fig. 19*) is dated by a decorated, banded *trozzella* (early 5th century BC) that was related to two bronze fibulae. The later burial I is dated to the first half of the 4th century BC. In this case the burial assemblage includes a column crater of local production, a banded lekane, two small vases (*brocchette*) and a black-gloss skyphos, again of local origin and in a perfect state of conservation. This burial was found within the area that we have identified hypothetically as a courtyard (see above); it may have been consciously incorporated into the plan of the structure.

The remaining two burials II and IV are both relatively simple cist-graves (*fosse rivestite di lastrini*) with inhumed infants. The graves lack their original covering. Tomb IV contained two skeletons,

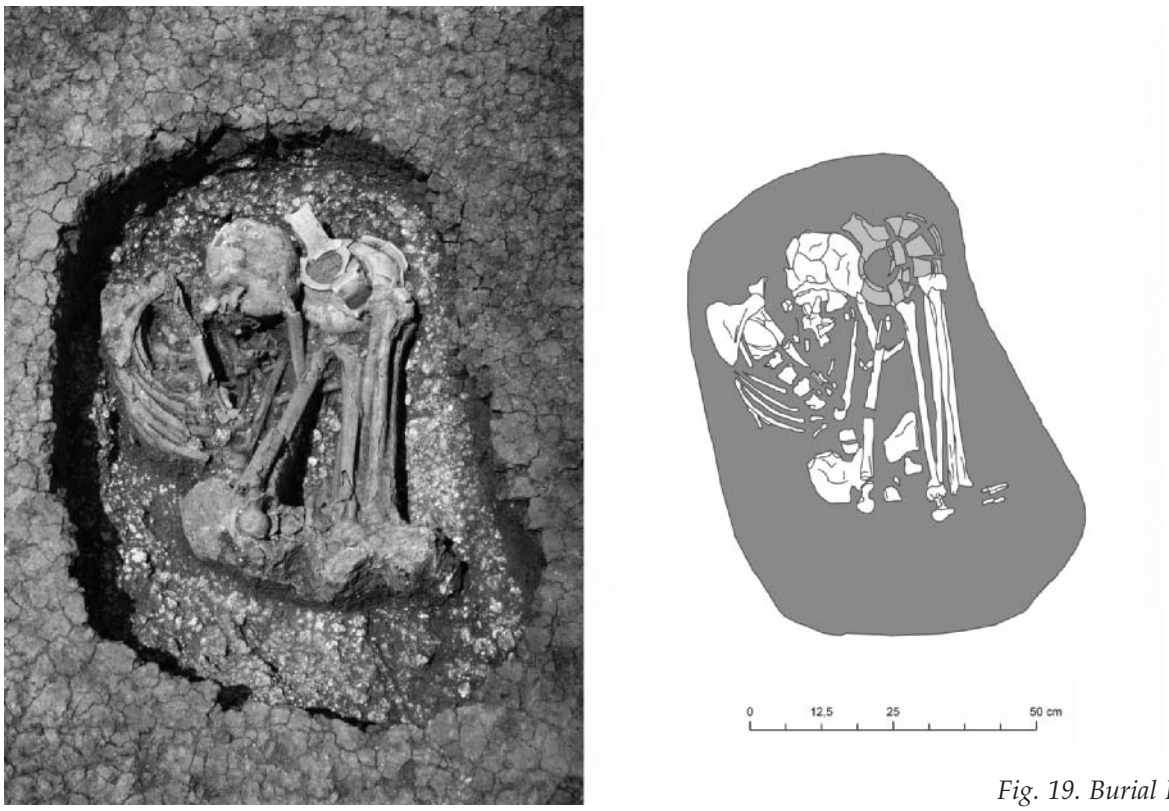

Fig. 19. Burial III.

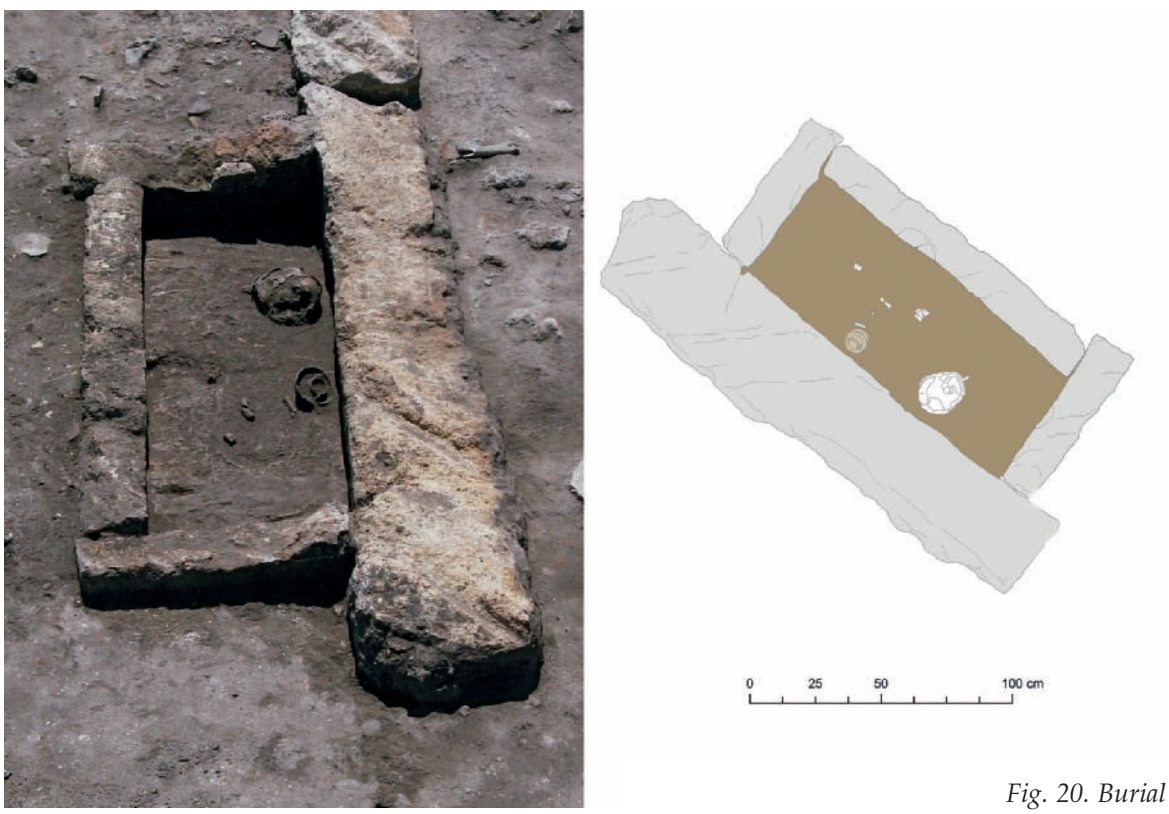

Fig. 20. Burial II.

of which the earliest had been set aside to create room for the later one. The burial gifts consisted of two small plain-ware one-handlers, a black-gloss skyphos of local production, a small banded ware cup, a two-handled miniature vase and an iron fibula. The assemblage dates the tomb to the first half of the 3rd century BC. Tomb II (*fig. 20*) contained one skeleton and an assemblage of two miniatures, a small cup, two fibulae and four astragaloi. The 4th-century BC brooches, one bronze and one iron, offer a *terminus post quem* for the burial. It should be observed that the bones of the infant do not lie in anatomic order, but in a pile against the southwest wall and have thus been moved. The gifts lie on a small patch of soil instead of directly on the bottom of the tomb, suggesting the same. Possibly, the original function of the structure was not that of a tomb but that of a trough. This is suggested by the fact that it has been constructed by placing two adjoining side-slabs against a block that is part of a wall. Moreover, the bottom is also made up of stone slabs. The structure might originally have been part of the northern channel, having been re-used as a tomb somewhere during phase 3 of the road. The brooches found in tomb II could then also be regarded as a *terminus ante quem* for road-phase 2.

Conclusion

Although modern deep-ploughing and stone extraction have done considerable damage to the ancient settlement at *I Castiedd' di San Pancrazio Salentino*, the preliminary analysis of the 2007 excavations in part of the settlement allows us to make a series of observations on chronology, function and spatial organisation.

First, the excavations have confirmed the field surveys, which suggested that this particular field was characterized by a domestic area that was in use from the Archaic to the Roman period. The ancient structures uncovered in the excavations can, indeed, be dated between the 7th/6th centuries BC and the 1st century AD. The Archaic period is represented in the deeper archaeological layers of the trench. These layers have been largely untouched by the plough and were only incidentally destroyed by recent digging. Also the early 5th-century BC burial III turned out to be well-preserved. This burial is located within a short distance of a dwelling complex, part of which was in use, most probably, during this period.

Most of the structures excavated, however, date to the early Hellenistic period, the later 4th-early 3rd centuries BC. According to the surveys, this is the period in which the settlement reached its maximum expansion of more than 50 ha and a central area clearly manifested itself, just northwest of the field excavated in 2007. The surveys, indeed, suggest that this field is part of the immediate periphery of the central area. Our trench has yielded additional evidence to support this hypothesis. It has uncovered part of a domestic area that is aligned alongside a road, running straight in the direction of the settlement's centre. As a working hypothesis, a first version of the road and adjacent structures may have been built in the late 5th-early 4th centuries BC. However, further evidence is needed to prove this hypothesis, and also to investigate the relationship between the successive phases of the road (1, 2, 3) and the rooms (I, II, III).

Assemblages from the late Republican and early Imperial period were found in several waste pits throughout the excavations, but are not related to any of the structures. It seems likely that the occupation of the area, after the Roman conquest of Salento in the 3rd century BC, witnessed a reorganisation and decline in intensity, as can also be deduced from the survey results. The area was plausibly turned into farmland occupied by several larger villas. Some of the waste disposal could be considered as evidence of the clearing of the terrain for farmland use.

In general, the excavated remains reflect a well-organised plan, at least in the northwestern portion of the trench. The road here is bordered on both sides by channels that align a series of buildings. The space between the channels and the façades of the buildings is reinforced with large stones and may be interpreted as a side-path or a portico. The assemblages excavated in the rooms of the buildings in most cases refer to domestic contexts, in particular those in rooms B, C and E, which may therefore be regarded as belonging to houses. The stucco found in relation to phase III of room B shows that this building, at the time of the extension into the L-shaped lay-out, had a representative function. At its turn, the L-shaped structure was likely to have been part of a larger building that also included a courtyard.

As is common in indigenous towns in Salento, the deceased are buried within the confines of the settlement, close to their respective abodes. This is particularly evident in tombs I and III, arranged very close to contemporary dwellings. In grid 82600 the remains of a robbed tomb were found. The tomb was ostensibly placed between the façade of the building and the border of the road;

again, a well-known feature of indigenous settlements.[19] Nevertheless, an unprecedented find was a structure that may be interpreted as a gate of some sort, closing off the road. This structure was placed at a strategic point, given the probable junction or square further to the northwest. Apparently, at some point during the 4th century BC, there had been a need to control the traffic along the road.

In conclusion, the preliminary results of the 2007 excavation at *I Castiedd'* add significant information to the data provided by the field survey of the site and its surroundings. They not only confirm the high degree of chronological and spatial complexity of the site, but also improve our understanding of this complexity. Together with the surveys, these results proved that the *contrada Castiedd'* has been hiding a substantial village with a long continuity of occupation, at least from the early Iron Age to well within the Roman period. In its early Hellenistic phase of maximum expansion, this village figured amongst the higher levels of the regional settlement hierarchy, the nearest neighbour with similar extensions being as far away as 20 km (e.g. Oria, Valesio). Given its location in the midst of agricultural fields, the site is one of a very few with similar stature in this region that can still be investigated with extensive excavations. However, our 2007 trench has made it patently clear that this is no guarantee for perpetual conservation. An important conclusion of the excavations is that deep-ploughing and other recent activities have had a devastating impact on the site, even destroying the oldest settlement traces in certain areas. In this light, the recent initiative of the Municipality of San Pancrazio Salentino to designate this area as an archaeological reserve, following European conventions and with European funding, must be considered the ultimate tool in preservation and will allow for further investigation of what remains.[20]

Notes

1 D'Andria 1999, 2002 for recent general overviews.
2 On the Cavallino excavations see in particular Pancrazzi 1979; Nenci 1987; D'Andria 1990; 2005, all with extensive bibliographies.
3 E.g. D'Andria 1990; 1991 (Vaste); Boersma 1990; Yntema 1993; Maruggi 2001 (Oria); Boersma 1990, 1995; Boersma/Burgers/Yntema 1991 (Valesio).
4 Yntema 1993; Boersma/Burgers/Yntema 1991; Burgers 1998.
5 See in particular Burgers 1998, 39-51.
6 At the site of Muro Tenente, excavations were carried out between 1993 and 2002 (e.g. Alberda et al. 1999; Burgers/Yntema 1999).
7 See Maruggi 2001 for an inventory of past reports on the site kept in the archives of the *Soprintendenza ai Beni Archeologici della Puglia.*
8 Pagliara 1983. Of special interest is the reference to an Italiote black gloss skyphos, on the base of which a male Greek name in genitive is incised from left to right in archaic Greek alphabet, i.e. *ARISTELES* in transcription. The vessel and its owner are recognized by Pagliara as a foreign element in an otherwise indigenous context.
9 D'Andria 1990, 233-236.
10 Burgers 1996; 1998, 129-160.
11 D'Andria 1991, 445, estimating a walled surface of 57 ha.
12 Maruggi/Burgers 2001.
13 These include a profound ditch dug in grid 82600, which can be explained as an attempt to loot a tomb.
14 Nevertheless, these features can also be found in the northern section of the trench; for example, in grids 84206 and 84207.
15 A parallel situation is found at Cavallino di Lecce (D'Andria 2005, 40).
16 E.g. grids 81803, 82203, 82201, 82603. In grid 82202 the southern block of the channel wall has clearly been cut back.
17 Intended as spaces enclosed by three or four walls, not necessarily covered.
18 The most conspicuous example of these is a large feature present in the southeastern wall and filled with coarse ceramics and tiles, which clearly cut through the southwestern wall.
19 E.g. the nearby fortified site of Muro Tenente, where Lo Porto (1976) excavated dozens of tombs aligned alongside a road near the centre of the site.
20 Work on the archaeological reserve started in 2006 in the context of the so-called *Progetto di salvaguardia, recupero e riqualificazione del sito archeologico I Castiedd'*, which is financed by the *Regione Puglia*, with major contributions from the European Regional Development Fund. The 2007 excavations discussed in the present article were also financed by this project. They were promoted by the Municipality of San Pancrazio Salentino and directed by the authors on behalf of the Archaeological Centre of the *Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam* and the Royal Netherlands Institute at Rome (co-sponsors of the excavations), in close collaboration with the *Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Puglia* (dott. Giuseppe Andreassi, dott. ssa Assunta Cocchiaro) and the *Scuola di Specializzazione in Archeologia Classica e Medievale 'Dinu Adamesteanu'* of the *Università del Salento* (proff. Francesco D'Andria and Grazia Semeraro). We sincerely thank our Italian colleagues for their support. We are also grateful to the various staff members for their contributions to the project: Jeroen Weterings, Antonella Fontana and Lucia di Noi (trench supervisors), Giuliana Carluccio, Paola Cillo, Luisa Agrifano, Emma Capurso, Raphaelle-Anne Kok, Juanita Kiburg, Ester Nijland, Corien Tetteroo (excavation team), Bert Brouwenstijn (drawing), Jaap Fokkema (digitalization) and Daphne Lentjes (botanical analysis). We also wish to thank all other field workers for their invaluable help. Finally, our gratitude goes to the Municipality of San Pancrazio Salentino for the hospitality shown to us.

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Catalogue of the Etruscan alabaster urns with mythological representations from Chiusi

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Abstract

This article provides a catalogue of all Hellenistic alabaster urns from Chiusi and its territory with Greek mythological representations, preceded by a hypothesis concerning symbolic values of the scenes on the front of the urns.

Introduction[1]

From the Hellenistic period in Chiusi and its territory there are around 140 urns of *marmo alabastrino* with Greek mythological representations known to us.[2] Scenes such as sacrifices and duels with tragic climax, prevail. On the lid a male or female figure reclines. In one hand the male recumbent holds a *patera umbilicata*, while female lid figures often have a mirror or a fan.[3] It is not clear whether the portrayal of the lid figures was a true likeness of the owner or not.

As I discussed in my article of 2001, the production starts around 250 BC and covers three generations of ca 25 years each.[4] Around 175 BC the less expensive production of terracotta urns replaces the alabaster urns. The first generation consists of carefully manufactured urns with complex schemes. All themes appearing in Chiusi and its territory have been represented in this generation. The urns have standardized sizes: 85-90 x 55-65 x 45-50 cm (large type) and 55-65 x 45-50 x 30 cm (small type).[5] Some schemes in this generation are most similar to their Greek and Etruscan antecedents. All themes that appear in Chiusi are represented with at least one sample in this group of first generation urns.[6] Most of the unique schemes that are difficult to interpret, can be attributed to the group of the first generation.[7] Almost all samples of the series of the 'Death of Hippolytos' that appears only in the Chiusine urn production and not in Volterra and Perugia, are first generation urns (cat. nos 65-78; *fig. 5*). In my opinion the schemes of the second generation urns are directly related to the prototype but simplified.[8] The urns of this group no longer have standardized sizes. The third generation consists of a small amount of urns with strongly simplified, degenerated schemes.[9]

After the admirable work of E. Brunn and G. Körte (1870-1916; abbreviated here as BK) who published and described all Chiusine, Volterran and Perugian urns known to them, no attempt was made to publish an up to date catalogue for at least the Chiusine urns with bibliographical notes and as many data as possible for each single urn. What follows is a catalogue of all alabaster urns from Chiusi and its territory with Greek mythological representations, preceded by a hypothesis concerning symbolic values of the scenes on the frontal side of the urns.[10]

The catalogue consists of thematic sections in alphabetical order. Each section starts with a short description of the iconographical scheme, and under this heading the urns are alphabetically listed according to the place of conservation. Indices on place of conservation, inscription number (*ET* and *CIE*), and BK number provide alternative entrances to the catalogue. Because of recent changes in inventory numbering in the Chiusi museum both old and new numbers are given. The individual catalogue number consists of the following parts: place of preservation, the findspot, if known with the name of the tomb, proposed date, measures of chest and, if present, lid (length x height x depth; depth of the relief), sex of the lid figure including a short description, if relevant a description of the reliefs on the short sides of the urn, a mention of any traces of paint, the full transcription of the inscription preceded by the *ET* and *CIE* number, the place of inscription (lid or chest), height of the inscription and, if possible, the type of writing according to A. Maggiani's system.[11] Finally a bibliography, containing publications from 1960 onwards. Exceptions are made in the case of important catalogues and publications of earlier date (BK, Rumpf 1928, Pryce 1931, Thimme 1954 and 1957). Proposed dates mentioned in these publications are put in brackets. The presumed prototype of each series is marked by 'PT' and - if possible - presented in the accompanying figures 1-12.

Symbolism

On the subject of symbolism the question to answer is why the artisans in Chiusi chose tragic scenes to decorate the urns. In other words, what is the relationship between the mythological scenes and the funerary character of the artefacts? Did they have a symbolic value?

In my opinion, we have to examine the construction of the schemes in order to answer these questions. The following elements can be considered as more or less constant factors after the Chiusine adaptation of the schemes.

- A symmetrical characteristically Chiusine wedge-shaped composition emphasizes the centrally placed figure(s) (cf. *figs 1, 4, 7, 9, 10*). These figures are almost without exception the victims or individuals under threat. Greek and Etruscan earlier schemes are adapted to this composition.
- One or more assailants approach their victim(s) from the left or the right; no figures have been placed between assailant and victim.
- Almost without exception the depicted moment is either that of danger, from which the victim seems to have no chance of surviving, or that just before the death of the victim. The principal figures are never shown dead.[12]
- Gods are absent, and, if present in the earlier schemes, are replaced by demons.[13]
- Demons, Vanths, were added to many schemes as assistants to the victims, as arbitrators, as attackers, neutral servants, and, on urns mainly from the later period, as neutral death demons (cf. *figs 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 10*). In the third generation some assailants are replaced by Vanths.

From these observations we come to the conclusion that the centrally placed victim seems to be the key figure during all generations. This figure cannot be replaced by demons. The placing of the assailants - directly next to their victim - seems to emphasize the critical situation for the victim. Their number and identity might be of secondary importance, however, but the larger the number the more serious the situation is. The dramatic background might explain why (almost) none of the victims is depicted dead: one can only feel forceful emotions, fear, tension, and hope of rescue, when the victim is not dead (yet). If the deceased would want to identify him/herself with one of the depicted characters, it would be the victim or the person under threat. The emotions aroused by the scene represented are also relevant for the dying: fear of death and hope of rescue.

In the first and second generations the decoration on the small sides of some urns (for example demons, dying warriors, ash vases, doors to the Underworld) had a katachthonic value. The themes do not relate to the scene on the frontal side. The possible functions of the demons can point to the conclusion that they were regarded as carriers of Fate and are probably better considered as representatives of it, rather than emphasising death and Underworld. This is the only manner to express Fate in the iconography, which is one of the key elements when we compare the myths used in de Chiusine urn production. Other leading aspects in these myths seem to be divine will (related to Fate) and family ties, which cannot be represented iconographically. The main motivation behind the interest for the family ties theme could be emotional. If, for example, someone kills his mother, the feelings provoked by such action are inevitably more shocking than if he had slayed an enemy in battle. Aristotle already described this mechanism of emotions in his *Poetics*.[14] In many themes there is a direct relationship between family ties and danger or death of the victim.

When we connect all the relevant elements and key elements (the victim as the principal figure, his emotions, 'fear of death' and 'hope of rescue', and fate/divine will), we probably get the following picture: Fate and divine will cause death. The question is whether or not the dying (the victim) had to fear Fate. Is Fate fair? When could the dying hope for rescue? All themes dealt with in the present study are in some way related to Fate, divine will or intervention. More than half of the scenes can be connected with rescue and hope of rescue. This soterical element can be divided into three categories. The first category (a) deals with the rescue of an endangered person from death, for example Achilles and Ajax, saved at the altar of Apollo Thymbraeus, under attack by Trojans angered by the murder of their prince Troilus (cat. nos 1-17; *fig. 1*); Orestes and Pylades, saved firstly from the Furies at the altar of Apollo in Delphi (cat. nos 97-100; *fig. 7*) and later from being sacrificed in the land of the Taurians (cat. nos 101-108; *fig. 8*); Paris saved at the altar by Turan (Venus; only visible in cat. no 113) from being killed by his family members (cat. nos 109-114; *fig. 9*). The second category (b) deals with the rescue of a person endangered after his or her death, (for example Iphigenia in Aulis (cat. no 79): Artemis saved Iphigenia from being sacrificed, replaced her by a sacrificial animal, and took her away to her sanctuary in the land of the Taurians, while everyone believed her dead. On the urn the act of substitution is portrayed in a special way: Iphigenia is represented as being carried away from the

altar, while all other Greek and Etruscan representations of the scene show the girl being carried to the altar. In this way the substitution is even more emphasized. A unique urn of the series of Achilles and Ajax after the murder of Troilus shows a similar replacement, with the murdered boy as an onlooker in the background (cat. no 13). As for Thebes: when Amphiaraus is about to be hit in the back, the gods save him from dying dishonourably by letting him and his *quadriga* disappear into the ground, although he did not deserve it (cat. no 116; *fig. 10*). The third category (c) deals with the rescue of 'mankind' from danger, like in the Gigantomachy (cat. no 64): the Giants represent the fundamental powers of chaos (the bad guys), defeated by the Olympian gods (the good guys). Ensuing this battle mankind was saved from the powers of evil. Or Cadmus fighting against the dragon (cat. no 19; *fig. 2*): Cadmus saved the people of the new founded city of Thebes from the vicious dragon. Again Meleager and Atalanta (cat. nos 80-89): the Calydonian boar, sent by Artemis to punish the king and the people of Calydon for forgetting to sacrifice in her honour, killed cattle and people. Meleager, Atalanta and their fellow hunters saved the people of Calydon by killing the boar.

In almost all themes the rescue of the endangered person or its contrary - when the endangered person is not being rescued - can be considered as appropriate. Negative justice (when the victim deserves to die; e.g. Death of Oenomaus, cat. nos 90-96, *fig. 6*; Ulysses murders the suitors, cat. no 130, *fig. 11*) is more popular than positive justice (when the threatened person who does not deserve to die is being saved, or, if his death is inevitable, will be saved in the Underworld). The Death of Hippolytus series (cat. nos 65-78; *fig. 5*), a very popular theme in Chiusi, belongs to the latter category. Justice and the need to record legal matters seem to be important factors in Etruria: some preserved Etruscan texts deal with contracts, and so do the boundary-stones.

In a few themes the ending seems to be unjust, although Fate plays an important role in these stories. In the Death of Troilus and the subsequent scene of Achilles and Ajax after the murder of Troilus, the young, innocent Trojan prince dies by the hand of the two Greek warriors. According to the prophecy Troy would only fall after the death of Troilus (Plautus, *Bacch*. 953-955). In this case Fate has nothing to do with justice. Not even a Fury could protect Troilus from murder (Death of Troilus). Although Achilles and Ajax killed the Trojan prince, they were able to flee to the altar of Apollo Thymbraeus and be saved from the Trojans, approaching from left and right (Achilles and Ajax after the murder of Troilus). The scenes were possibly felt as unfair, an emotional state shared by the mourning relatives of the dead: they also wondered why their loved one had to die (young?). One Achilles and Ajax urn in the *tomba della Pellegrina* seems to support this interpretation: the urn belonged to a boy who died before his father (cat. no 5).

After the first generation (from ca 225 BC) the themes on negative justice, and rescue from death (whether justified or not) remain popular, while less explicit symbolism, based on rescue after death, and rescue of mankind, seem to be too complicated, and therefore decline. Complexity of scheme, less skilled artisans and failed iconographical experiments could also be an explanation for the lack of the latter categories.

To elucidate my theory I will give one example. Negative justice seems to be the determining factor in the myth of the Mycenean royal family: king Agamemnon sacrifices his own daughter (Iphigenia in Aulis (cat. no 79)), therefore he deserves to die. The king's wife Clytaemnestra and her lover Aegisthus kill Agamemnon (Death of Agamemnon (cat. no 18)). Because their central motive for the murder is not vengeance for the daughter's sacrifice but the relationship between Clytaemnestra and Aegisthus, the murderers also deserve to die. Orestes, the son of Agamemnon and Clytaemnestra, and his friend Pylades fulfill the revenge and kill the mother and her lover (Death of Clytaemnestra and Aegisthus (cat. nos 20-27; *fig. 3*)). As a result of this matricide Orestes and Pylades subsequently deserve to be punished. They will not die, because Apollo himself had induced the two friends towards revenge. Furies chase Orestes and Pylades until they find refuge into the Sanctuary of Apollo in Delphi (Orestes and Pylades in Delphi (cat. nos 97-100; *fig. 7*)). They will be forgiven only by going to the Taurians to retrieve the statue of Artemis and take it back with them to Athens. Here negative justice changes into positive justice: in the land of the Taurians Orestes and Pylades are captured and about to be sacrificed by the priestess, Orestes' sister Iphigenia (Orestes and Pylades in Tauris (cat. nos 101-108; *fig. 8*)). Just in time Iphigenia finds out the identity of her victims, and they flee together away from the Taurians. So the 'good guys' and the innocent sister survive at the end of the chain of fatalities, while the 'bad guys' pay the price for their behaviour and die.

Conclusion

In conclusion, we can probably explain the choice for mythological scenes on funerary objects by the just role of Fate, inherent in almost all themes. He, who deserves to be saved, is saved somehow, while he who deserves to die, dies. The same is true for the deceased owner of the urn: he lives on in the Underworld, enjoying symposia as shown on the lid of the urn. The message for the living relatives could be that one should not fear death if he lived according to the rules, worshipped the gods piously, and did not break the family ties. Scenes with positive justice could have been chosen as positive paradigms and as expressions of hope for the deceased and therefore as consolation for the relatives. Scenes with negative justice could be negative paradigms to warn the relatives of what could happen if they do not live according to the rules. In those themes where Fate seems unfair we would probably read the message: 'Fate is unfair', related to the (early) death of a loved one. The depicted unfairness (at least in the case of Troilus) may comfort the family, because they could see that untimely death happens even to mythical heroes.

Non-mythological themes are harder to connect with Fate than well-known mythological themes strongly related to it. This probably explains the choice of myths in the urn production.

Catalogue

P - person; PT - prototype

Achilles and Ajax

The theme of Achilles and Ajax after the murder of the Trojan prince Troilus can be divided into a simple and a complex scheme. The complex scheme shows two armed warriors - Achilles and Ajax - kneeling on a centrally placed altar. One of them holds the head of Troilus. The altar is concealed because of the dead horse lying in front of it. On both sides two more armed warriors try to attack the men on the altar. The two at the front are kneeling, the two at the back are standing. The simple scheme omits the horse and sometimes reduces the number of assailants. The unparalleled scheme on cat. no 13 shows the substitution of Troilus with a sacrificial animal (hind). The horse, also present in cat. nos 10 and 12, lies in front of the altar.

1.
Chianciano Terme, Museo Civico Archeologico delle Acque di Chianciano Terme 73727
Chianciano Terme, tomb of the Nachrni
200-175 BC
Chest: 48 x 38.5 x 26.5
Lid: 51.5 x 36 x 19
Draped female lid figure. In the right hand she is holding a fan (weather-beaten)
ET Cl 1.978: *pa[ncur]ia nachrnisa*; Michelucci 1977: *plax[...]ia: nachrnisa* (lid); rather graffito than inscription

Michelucci 1977, 186, fig. 31-32; REE 45 (1977) 283-285 no 11 fig. 2, pl. 41 (with wrong no. 44) (M. Michelucci); Steuernagel 1998, no 225 (225-175 BC).

2.
Chicago, Field-Museum 26120
Chiusi
225-200 BC

LIMC VIII,1 Troilos 16 (A. Kossatz-Deissmann); Steuernagel 1998, no 245 a (200-150 BC).

3.
Chiusi, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 986 (ex coll. Paolozzi, Chiusi)
Chiusi
250-225 BC
Chest: 96 x 65 x 46; depth of relief: 4.5
Female lid figure
Traces of paint: pink: inner side of the shield of P 1, P 4 and P 6; leg and face of P 3; body of P 5.

BK III, 190a; Thimme 1954, 111, 116, n. 62, fig. 50; Steuernagel 1998, no 257, pl. 43,1 (175-125 BC).

4.
Chiusi, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 63018 (667 bis; ex coll. Paolozzi, Chiusi)
Chiusi (lid: tomb of the Marcni)
250-225 BC
Chest: 84 x 57 x 35; depth of relief: 4
Lid: 98 x 52 x 39
Draped female lid figure. The recumbent is lying on a rug of animal skin. It is doubtful whether the lid belongs to the chest. In my opinion it does.
Traces of paint: red: hair of all standing persons and of

Troilus' head; middle part of cuirass of P 7; zigzag shaped belt P 4; pink: arms, body parts and cheeks of P 1; blue: cape of P 1; shield and shoulder-strap of P 7; black: eyes of P 1 and 7.
CIE 2434; *ET* Cl. 1.1117: *purnei: marcnisa* (lid); height 2.5; type II, 3rd cent. BC

BK I, 65, 36; Thimme 1954, 113, fig. 51; 1957, 147 no 6; *LIMC* I,1 Achle 78 (G. Camporeale); Steuernagel 1998, no 251 (175-125 BC).

5.
Chiusi, tomba della Pellegrina (no inv. no)
Chiusi, tomba della Pellegrina
250-225 BC
Chest: 60 x 46 x 27; depth of relief: 3
Male lid figure (in present location not placed on the chest)
ET Cl 1.78: *larth: sentinateś: caesa* (lid); type II, 3rd cent. BC

Thimme 1954, 102-104, no 2, fig. 45 (chest), fig. 46 (lid), 121-132 (150-125 BC, although head of the lid figure seems to be dated 200-175 BC); *LIMC* I,1 Achle 79 (G. Camporeale); Maggiani 1990, 210-215, fig 18, 2, pl. 4, 3 (ca 240 BC); Colonna 1993, 356 and n. 102 (ca 250 BC); Steuernagel 1998, no 244, pl. 41,4 (275-225 BC).

6. PT (simple scheme; *fig. 1*)
Chiusi, tomba della Pellegrina (no inv. no)
Chiusi, tomba della Pellegrina
250-225 BC
Chest: 82 x 56 x 40; depth of relief: 6
Draped female lid figure wearing a necklace with *bullae*.
ET Cl. 1.91: *thania[:-7-:] l[a]rthal[: sentinate]ś: pu[ia]* (lid)

Thimme 1954, 116-117, 129, no 15 (200-175 BC (lid)); Steuernagel 1998, no 249, pl. 42,1 (175-125 BC); compare scheme with BK I, 63, 31.

7.
Cortona, Museo dell'Accademia Etrusca 1001
Chiusi
225-200 BC
Chest: 74 x 51 x 36; depth of relief: 3

BK I, 62, 30; *LIMC* I,1 Achle 72 (G. Camporeale); Steuernagel 1998, no 248, pl. 41,3 (200-150 BC).

8.
Florence, Museo Archeologico 5756 (ex Museo della Società Colombaria, Florence)
Chiusi, tomba di Poggio al Moro
225-200 BC
Chest: 74 x 50 x 37
Short sides: a death demon in a niche holding a pick-axe; in the upper corner a helmet with a feather (left), and a Phrygian helmet without feather (right) Traces of paint: red: right wing of Vanth, skirt of P 2 and 3; white: altar, background, P 3 (presumably of later date)

BK I, 61, 27; Rebuffat 1972, 517, 521 fig. 3a; Borbein 1976, 516 and fig. 11; Steuernagel 1998, no 252, pl. 42,2 (175-125 BC).

9.
Florence, Museo Archeologico 5770 (94) (ex Museo della Società Colombaria, Florence)
Chiusi
200-175 BC
Chest: 40 x 30 x 22

BK I, 63, 32; *LIMC* I,1 Achle 74 (G. Camporeale); Steuernagel 1998, no 226, pl. 38,2 (left) (225-175 BC).

10.
Montepulciano, Palazzo Bucelli, Via di Gracciano nel Corso, 73
Chiusi
250-225 BC
Chest: 84 x 60 (The relief shows traces of wear due to weather exposure as the chest is incorporated in an exterior wall of the Palazzo Bucelli)

BK I, 54, 14 a; *LIMC* I,1 Achle 70 (G. Camporeale); Steuernagel 1998, no 238, pl. 40,2 (225-175 BC).

11.
Montepulciano, Palazzo Bucelli, Via di Gracciano nel Corso, 73
Chiusi
250-225 BC
Chest: length: 62 (The relief shows traces of wear due to weather exposure as the chest is incorporated in an exterior wall of the Palazzo Bucelli)

BK I, 64, 34; *LIMC* I,1 Achle 76 (G. Camporeale); Steuernagel 1998, no 247 (225-175 BC).

12. PT (complex scheme)
Palermo, Museo Regionale Salinas N.I. 8461 (25) (ex coll. Casuccini, Chiusi) (chest); N.I. 8459 (72) (lid) (see cat. no 46!)
Chiusi, loc. Il Colle (lid)
250-225 BC
Chest: 83 x 51 x 43; depth of relief: 4.5
Lid: 87 x 38 (head is incomplete) x 33
Present lid with male lid figure, semi-draped, holding a *patera umbilicata* of the 'Calenian' type, does not belong to chest
Traces of paint: red: blood from the head, inside of the shields
ET Cl 1.145; *CIE* 1174: *larth: pethna: sethresa* (lid); type II

BK I, 54, 14; *LIMC* I,1 Achle 69 (G. Camporeale); Steuernagel 1998, no 237, pl. 40,1 (225-175 BC).

13.
Paris, Musée du Louvre S 3887, MA 2351 (ex coll. Campana)
Chiusi
250-225 BC
Chest: 61 x 44 x 34
Lid: 63 x 43 x 34
Male lid figure, semi-draped, wearing a garland, holding a *patera umbilicata*
Traces of paint: traces of red, black blue-green; red: inscription

CIE 162 (wrong place of origin: Volterra); *ET* Vt 1.158: *larth: trepuś: larthal* (lid)

BK II, 79, 1; Heurgon 1984, 317-320, pl. 1 a-b; Steuernagel 1998, no 254 (200-150 BC); Briguet/Briquel 2002, 128-133 no 57 (second half of the 3rd-beginning of the 2nd century BC).

14.
Paris, Musée du Louvre S 3889, MA 2358 (ex coll. Campana)
Chiusi
250-225 BC
Chest: 87 x 56.5 x 42.5
Lid: 85 x 50 x 40
Male lid figure
Traces of paint: red, black, yellow
vel. ve[---] larthal. visce; height: 4.2

Briguet/Briquel 2002, 137-139 no 59 (second half of the 3rd-2nd century BC).

15.
Missing (ex coll. Casuccini, Chiusi)
Chiusi
225-200 BC
Chest: length: 80

BK I, 63, 31; *LIMC* I,1 Achle 73 (G. Camporeale); Steuernagel 1998, no 250 (175-125 BC).

16.
Missing (ex coll. Casuccini, Chiusi)
Chiusi
250-225 BC
Chest: length: 60

BK I, 64, 33; Steuernagel 1998, no 245 (225-175 BC?).

17.
Missing (ex coll. Casuccini, Chiusi)
Chiusi
225-200 BC
Chest: length: 60

BK I, 65, 35; *LIMC* I,1 Achle 77 (G. Camporeale); Steuernagel 1998, no 246 (175-125 BC).

Fig. 1. Cat. no 6 (photo author).

Agamemnon murdered

Whereas the theme is present in Volterra several times,[15] in Chiusi this is the only example representing the murder of Agamemnon. Agamemnon sits in the middle on a chair with a mantle over his head. On the left Clytaemnestra is ready to strike her husband with a footstool held above her head. Two female demons, one on the left and one on the right side, watch on.

18.
Florence, Museo Archeologico 74625 (92)
Città della Pieve, tomb of the Purni
250-225 BC
Chest: 56 x 44 x 33; depth of relief: 7
Male lid figure (missing)
Traces of paint: pink: dress of Clytaemnestra (P 2); green: background

ET Cl 1.659: *arnti: purni[ś: lautni]*; *CIE* 1351: *arnti purni[...]*; (Thimme 1957: *arnza purni* (because of the male lid figure)) (lid); type II

BK I, 85, 4; Thimme 1957, 124-125, no 10, fig. 15 (ca 125 BC); *LIMC* I,1 Agamemnon 96 (O. Touchefeu/I. Krauskopf).

Cadmus fighting the dragon

The theme of Cadmus fighting the dragon is used only once on a Chiusine alabaster urn. On the right of the scheme Cadmus attacks the monster (represented as a snake) with a sword. From the left two other assailants approach with spears. The dragon has coiled itself around a victim. A terrified man kneels on the ground.

19. (*fig. 2*)
Chiusi, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 30 (303)
Chiusi
250-225 BC
Chest: 71 x 48 x 30; depth of relief: 4.5
Male lid figure, semi-draped, wearing a garland, holding a *patera umbilicata* of the 'Calenian' type
Traces of paint: red: hair; black: background
ET Cl 1.1637; *CIE* 2192: *arnth veltsni arnthal anainal* (chest); height: 1.5-2.1; type II, mixture 3rd-2nd cent. BC

BK II, 2, 1; *LIMC* V,1 Kadmos I 38 (M.A. Tiverios).

Fig. 2. Cat. no 19 (photo L.B. van der Meer).

Clytaemmnestra and Aegisthus murdered

In the centre of the composition is a winged Vanth holding a torch. Orestes kills his mother Clytaemnestra (the couple on the left), Pylades slaughters Aegisthus (the couple on the right). The scene takes place in a sanctuary, as indicated by the presence of a column with a vase on top (cat. nos 20, 23, 24) as well as an altar on which either a Vanth sits (cat. no 20) or a woman stands (Electra, Erigone or a female servant?) as is the case in the presumed prototype (cat. no 22).

20.
Chiusi Museo Archeologico Nazionale 63021 (234) (ex palazzo vescovile, Chiusi)
Chiusi, podere Santa Mustiola, tomb of the Cumni
225-200 BC
Chest: 61 x 33 x 30; depth of relief: 6
Lid: 59 x 32 x 26
Male lid figure, semi-draped, wearing a garland, holding a *patera umbilicata* of the 'Calenian' type. The recumbent is lying on a rug of animal skin
Short sides: torch, surrounded by acanthus leaves
Traces of paint: black: eyes of P 5
ET Cl 1.1848; *CIE* 2040: *cumni: thucernaś:* (lower edge of chest); height: 1.9; type I B, 3rd cent. BC

BK I, 78, 7; Thimme 1957, 158, no 11, pl. 5,2; Cristofani 1978, fig. 189; *LIMC* I,1 Aigisthos 31 (R.M. Gais); Steuernagel 1998, no 75, pl. 17,1 (225-175 BC); Maggiani 2000, 13, fig. 9 (end of the 3rd-beginning of the 2nd cent. BC).

21.
Chiusi, tomba di Poggio al Moro
Chiusi, tomba di Poggio al Moro
225-200 BC
Chest: length: 61

BK I, 77, 5; *LIMC* I,1 Aigisthos 31 (R.M. Gais).

22. PT (*fig. 3*)
Florence, Museo Archeologico 5767 (91) (ex Florence, Museo della Società Colombaria)
Chiusi
250-225 BC
Chest: 85 x 54 x 34-43; depth of relief: 5
Present lid figure: cat. no 69.
Short sides: winged demon, sits leaning on a staff in a rectangular framework.

BK I, 79,9; *LIMC* I,1 Aigisthos 31 (R.M. Gais); Maggiani 2000, 13, fig. 10 (beginning of the 2nd cent. BC).

23.
Grosseto, Museo Archeologico e d'Arte della Maremma 1987 (ex coll. Sozzi, Chiusi)
Chiusi, loc. Il Colle, tomb II
225-200 BC
Chest: 70 x 48 x 36; depth of relief: 3
Lid: 82 x 34 (head is missing) x 35
Male lid figure
Traces of paint: red: double *kolpos*; orange with black stripes: wings of P 3; orange-red: mantle of P 2, *chlamydes* P 4 and 5; yellow: buckles P 4 and 5
ET Cl. 1.154: *larth: pethna: alapusa: seiantial*; *CIE* 1175: *larth pethna: alapusa: velsial*; (lid); type II

BK I, 79, 8; *LIMC* I,1 Aigisthos 31 (R.M. Gais); Steuernagel 1998, no. 73, pl. 17,2 (225-175 BC).

24.
London, British Museum D 38-39 (ex Campanari)
Chiusi
250-200 BC
Chest: 69 x 45 x 27; depth of relief: 4
Lid: 73 x 52 x 31
Male lid figure, semi-draped, wearing a garland, leaning on two high pillows.
Traces of paint: red: skin of the persons; white: draperies and wings of P 3
larthl: rathela - n: arnth (lid)

BK I, 78, 6; Pryce 1931, 204-205, D 38-39, fig. 60; *LIMC* I,1 Aigisthos 31 (R.M. Gais); Steuernagel 1998, no 74 (225-175 BC).

25.
Palermo, Museo Regionale Salinas N.I. 8468 (43) (ex coll. Casuccini, Chiusi)
Chiusi
225-200 BC
Chest: 75 x 49 x 34; depth of relief: 3
Lid: 67 x 47 x 32
Male lid figure, holding a *patera umbilicata* of the 'Calenian' type
ET Cl 1.2318; *CIE* 2679: *vel: remzna crespe* (lid)

BK I, 77, 4a; *LIMC* I,1 Aigisthos 31 (R.M. Gais).

26.
Siena, Museo Archeologico 68111 (ex 729, ex 81) (ex Palazzo Bargagli, Sarteano)
Sarteano, pod. 'Le Tombe', tomb of the (Sentinate)-Cumere(sa)
250-225 BC
Chest: 63 x 49 x 32; depth of relief: 4
Lid: 69 x 46 x 34
Male lid figure, semi-draped, holding a patera umbilicata of the 'Calenian' type
Traces of paint: red: inscription
ET Cl 1.327; *CIE* 1425: *larth cumere arnthal* (lid); mixture type I A-I B, 3rd cent. BC

BK I, 77, 4; Thimme 1957, 150-151, no 4, fig. 25; *LIMC* I,1 Aigisthos 31 (R.M. Gais).

27.
Missing (ex coll. Gori)
Chiusi

BK I, 78, 7a; *LIMC* I,1 Aigisthos 31 (R.M. Gais); Steuernagel 1998, no 76.

Fig. 3. Cat. no 22 (photo Soprintendenza Archeologica per la Toscana - Florence).

Eteocles and Polyneices

a. Before the duel

The twins are about to confront each other with swords. Their companions try to stop them. In the centre, Vanth plays the role of arbiter. The identification of the demon as Vanth is certain on account of the name vanth inscribed on the volumen in the hand of the winged demon on cat.no 28.

28.
Chiusi, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 950
Chiusi
250-225 BC
Chest: 61 x 40 x 27; depth of relief: 2.5
Female lid figure
l[...]larisal (chest)

BK II, 10, 5; Ronzitti Orsolini 1971, 24, 79 fig. II; Krauskopf 1974 55-56, 106 (Pol 19: 150-100 BC); Borbein 1976, 517, fig. 12; Small 1981, 36-37, 111, 178, 183, no 35, pl. 17a (unidentified warriors); Von Freytag 1986, 279, U 15, pl. 50, 2.

29.
Chiusi, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 984 (chest); 111 (lid) (ex Piparello)
Chiusi, San Giovanni, tomb of the Cupna
225-175 BC
Chest: 75 x 42 x 36

Male lid figure (it is doubtful whether the lid belongs to the chest)
ET Cl 1.1357: *vel.cae. l[-]*; *CIE* 1848: *vel: cae: la[rthal]* (lid); height: 3.5; type I A, 3rd cent. BC

BK II, 36, 6 (lower drawing), 31; Thimme 1957, 142-143, no 3, fig. 17; Krauskopf 1974, 55-56, 106 (Pol 20: 200-100 BC); Rallo 1974, 51, no 5 and n. 2, pl. 28, 2; Small 1981, 39-40, no 39, pl. 19b (unidentified warriors); Von Freytag 1986, 279 sub 2c; *LIMC* IV,1 Eteokles 15 (I. Krauskopf).

30.
Chiusi, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 1053 (only known from description)
Chiusi

BK III, 238-239, 36, 6a; Small 1981, 72, no 42 (unidentified warriors); Von Freytag 1986, 279 sub 2c.

31. PT
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek H.300 (H.I.N. 63)
Città della Pieve, tomb of the Purni
250-225 BC
Chest: 83 x 52 x 42
Lid: 81 x 41 x 42
Male lid figure, semi-draped, wearing a garland, holding a *patera umbilicata* of the 'Calenian' type. The recumbent is lying on a rug of animal skin
Short sides: winged and bearded Charun, bending over his great mallet, his left foot resting on a pile of stones (left) and a male demon with moustache, beard and breasts (!), and with snakes growing out of his shoulders instead of winges (right).
Traces of paint: black: eyes; blue-green: *chiton* of P 1, clothes of P 2, wings of P 3, mantle of P 5, snakes of the demon on the short side on the right, cuirass of Charun on the other short side; green: clothes of P 5; red: boots of Charun; pink: drapery of P 5, *chiton* of P 4.

BK II, 261-263, fig. 261-262; Thimme 1957, 129-130, no 14 (ca 125 BC); Krauskopf 1974, 55-56, 105-106 (Pol 18: 150-100 BC); Small 1981, 37-38, 111, 185 no 36, pl. 18 (unidentified warriors); Von Freytag 1986, 279, U 14, pl. 50, 1; *LIMC* IV,1 Eteokles 15 (I. Krauskopf); Moltesen/Nielsen 1996, 82-85, no 27 (150-120 BC).

32.
Cortona, Museo dell'Accademia Etrusca E 1021 A
Chiusi
250-225 BC
Chest: 69 x 45

BK II, 10, 4; Krauskopf 1974, 56-57, 106 (Pol 22: 150-125 BC); Borbein 1976, 517 and fig. 13; Small 1981, 35-36, 90, 109-113 no 34, pl. 16 b (unidentified warriors); Von Freytag 1986, 279, U 11, pl. 49, 2; LIMC IV,1 Eteokles 14 (I. Krauskopf).

33.
Montepulciano, Palazzo Bucelli, Via di Gracciano nel Corso, 73
Chiusi
200-175 BC
Chest: 45 x 34 (the chest was incorporated in an exterior wall of the Palazzo Bucelli. Therefore the relief is weather-beaten)

BK II, 10, 4a; Small 1981, 40 no 40, pl. 20 a (unidentified warriors); Von Freytag 1986, 279, U 12.

34.
Montepulciano, Palazzo Bucelli, Via di Gracciano nel Corso, 73
Chiusi
225-175 BC
Chest: 70 x 45; depth of relief: 3 (The relief shows traces of wear due to weather exposure as the chest is incorporated in an exterior wall of the Palazzo Bucelli)

BK II, 10, 4b; Small 1981, 40, no 41 (unidentified warriors); Von Freytag 1986, 279, U 13.

35.
Munich, Antiquarium 607
Chiusi, collina La Martinella
250-225 BC.
Chest: length: 60
Male lid figure
ET Cl 1.105; *CIE* 1219: *vel veluś arnthalisa* (lid); type II

BK III, 124, 3, fig. 42; Krauskopf 1974, 55-56, 105 (Pol 17: 200-150 BC); Von Freytag 1986, 279 sub 2c.

b. The duel

In the centre Eteocles tries to cut Polyneices' throat who falls down and stabs his brother with his sword. On the right and left of the scene a female winged demon tries to stop the twins. On the basis of Euripides (*Phoen.* 1377-1424) and Pausanias' description of the Kypselos chest (5.19.6), on which the scene occurs, we are able to identify the kneeling warrior as Polyneices.

36.
Chiusi, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 72
Chiusi
225-175 BC
Chest: 57 x 35 x 25
Female lid figure

BK II, 11, 2b; Small 1981, 44, p.167 no 48, pl. 22 b (Arruns and/or Brutus?); Von Freytag 1986, 280, U 21.

37.
Chiusi, private collection (coll. Galeotti, Chiusi)
Chiusi, Il Colle (?)
ET Cl 1.174; *CIE* 1198: *larthi pethne tetinasa* (chest); mixture type I A and II, 3rd-2nd cent. BC

Maggiani 1990, 206, n. 122, fig. 15, pl. 1, 1-2 (200-150 BC).

38.
Cortona, Museo dell'Accademia Etrusca (no inv. no)
Chiusi
225-175 BC
Chest: 54 x 39 x 29; depth of relief: 4
Lid: 60 x 22 (head is missing) x 29
Male lid figure, semi-draped, holding a *patera umbilicata*
Traces of paint: red: hair, torch of P 4, eyes, animal skin on the lid

BK II, 12, 5; Krauskopf 1974, 53-54, 105 (Pol 11: 200-100 B.C?); Small 1981, 52-53, 126-130, 170 no 65, pl. 28 a (Romulus and Remus?); Von Freytag 1986, 280, U 31, pl. 54, 2.

39.
Grosseto, Museo Archeologico e d'Arte della Maremma 3726 (ex coll. Sozzi, Chiusi)
Chiusi, loc. Il Colle
250-225 BC
Chest: 60 x 42 x 28; depth of relief: 4.5
Female lid figure, belonging to Giantomachy urn, cat. no 64.
Traces of paint: red: endromydes of Vanth and Eteocles, and the hair of P 1, 2 and 4.

BK II, 11, 2; Krauskopf 1974, 53-54, 105 (Pol 9: 200-100 BC); Small 1981, 42-43, 182 no 44, pl. 21 a (Arruns-Brutus?); Von Freytag 1986, 281, U 19, pl. 52, 2.

40.
Palermo, Museo Regionale Salinas 58 (ex coll. Casuccini, Chiusi)
Chiusi
225-175 BC
Chest: 47 x 38 x 22

BK II, 11, 2c; Small 1981, 45 no 52 (Arruns-Brutus?); Von Freytag 1986, 280, U 22.

41.
Palermo, Museo Regionale Salinas 62
Chiusi
250-225 BC
Chest: 58 x 40 x 26
Female lid figure

BK II, 11, 2f; Small 1981, 43 no 46, pl. 21 b (Arruns-Brutus?); Von Freytag 1986, 280, U 25, pl. 53, 1.

42.
Palermo, Museo Regionale Salinas 64
Chiusi
250-225 BC
Chest: 65 x 38 x 31

BK II, 11, 2e; Small 1981, 44 no 47, pl. 22 a (Arruns-Brutus?); Von Freytag 1986, 280, U 24.

43.
Palermo, Museo Regionale Salinas 66
Chiusi
250-225 BC
Chest: 55 x 38 x 27

Small 1981, 45 no. 51, pl. 24 a (Arruns-Brutus?); Von Freytag 1986, 280, U 26.

44.
Palermo, Museo Regionale Salinas 68
Chiusi
250-225 BC
Chest: 55 x 38 x 27

BK II, 11, 2d; Small 1981, 45 no 50, pl. 23 b (Arruns-Brutus?); Von Freytag 1986, 280, U 23.

45.
Palermo, Museo Regionale Salinas N.I. 8452 (53)
Chiusi
225-175 BC
Chest: 73 x 51 x 31; depth of relief: 5 (irregular shape)
Male lid figure, holding a *patera umbilicata* (it is doubtful whether the lid belongs to the chest)
Traces of paint: red: hair of persons

BK II, 11, 2g; Small 1981, 44, 167 no 49, pl. 23 a (Arruns-Brutus?); Von Freytag 1986, 280, U 27, pl. 53, 2.

46. PT
Palermo, Museo Regionale Salinas N.I. 8459 (72) (ex coll. Casuccini, Chiusi) (chest); N.I. 8469 (lid)
Chiusi
250-225 BC
Chest: 81 x 63 x 52
Lid: 83 x 37 x 46
Married couple as lid figures (present lid does not belong to chest; original lid: see cat. no 12)
Traces of paint: red: drapery of lid figures
ET Cl. 1.2402: *aule. tetina. lauchms(n)alisa*; *CIE* 2831: *aule. tetina. lauchmsaliśa* (chest); type I B, 3rd cent. BC
Short sides: *ketos* with a beaked nose and curled tail, placed in an arch, which is placed in a rectangular framework with a small circle in each upper corner (right); idem with Phrygian hats instead of circles (left)

BK II, 12, 4; Thimme 1954, 43, 45, 47, 51, fig. 8-11; Krauskopf 1974, 53-54, 104-105 (Pol 7: ca 200 BC); Borbein 1976, 520 and fig. 14; Small 1981, 46-47, 124, 184 no 54, pl. 25a (Arruns-Brutus?); Von Freytag 1986, 280, U 30, pl. 54, 1; *LIMC* IV,1 Eteokles 22 (I. Krauskopf); Colonna 1993, 351 and n. 77, pl. 14 b; 15 a.

47.
Palermo, Museo Regionale Salinas N.I. 8473 (59)
Chiusi
250-225 BC
Chest: 59 x 39 x 33; depth of relief: 2
Male lid figure, wearing a garland and holding a *patera*
Traces of paint: red, yellow and green

BK II, 11, 3: Krauskopf 1974, 53-54, 105 (Pol 12: 200-100 BC); Borbein 1976, 520 and fig. 15; Small 1981, 46 no 53, pl. 24 b (Arruns-Brutus?); Von Freytag 1986, 280, U 33, pl. 55, 2.

48.
Missing (ex coll. Sozzi, Chiusi)
Chiusi

BK II, 11, 2a; Small 1981, 43 no 45 (Arruns-Brutus?); Von Freytag 1986, 280, U 20.

49.
Missing; only known from descriptions (ex coll. Giulietti, Chiusi)
Chiusi
Chest: length: 56

BK II, 11, 2h; Small 1981, 50-51, no 61; Von Freytag 1986, 280, U 28.

50.
Missing; only known from descriptions (ex Casa Galeotti, Chiusi)
Chiusi

Thimme 1954, 82-83 n. 48; Von Freytag 1986, 280, U 29.

c) After the duel

Dying, or already dead the twins lie - in most cases - in the arms of their companions. Vanth sits or stands in the centre. She holds a torch or a sword in her hand.

51.
Berlin, Staatliche Museen Sk. 1283-1284
Chiusi
250-225 BC
Chest: 61 x 46 x 30
Lid: 71 x 38 x 29
Female lid figure holding a mirror in her hand. The recumbent is lying on a rug of animal skin
Traces of paint: red: inscription
larthi: cupslnei: tutnasa

BK II, 15, 3; Rumpf 1928, 32, E 53-54, pl. 38-39; Krauskopf 1974, 56, 107 (Pol 30: 200-100 BC); Borbein 1976, 520 and fig. 18; Small 1981, 60-61, 122, 167 no 74, pl. 33a; Von Freytag 1986, 283, U 57, pl. 63, 2; Schade/Kunze 1988, 317.

52.
Chiusi, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 466
Chiusi
225-175 BC
Chest: 47 x 38 x 24
Female lid figure (originally)
larthia : le...

BK II, 13, 1c; Small 1981, 61-62 no 76, pl. 34 a (unidentified warriors); Von Freytag 1986, 282, U 49.

53.
Chiusi, P 889
Chiusi
225-175 BC
Chest: 49 x 40

Small 1981, no 81, pl. 36 b.

54.
Copenhagen, Ny Carslberg Glyptotek H.297 (H.I.N. 60) (ex Pacini)
Città della Pieve, tomb of the Purni
250-225 BC
Chest: 89 x 61 x 52
Lid: 91 x 55 x 49
Male lid figure, semi-draped, wearing a garland (it is doubtful whether the lid belongs to the chest)
Short sides: winged *ketos* (on the right side in frame)
Traces of paint: many traces of red, brown, green, blue, purple; swords painted in black-grey; lid: pillows and hem of the himation
ET Cl. 1.665: *[—] purni alfaś* (chest)

BK II, 263-264, fig 264; Thimme 1957, 130-131, no 15 (chest: 200-175 BC; lid: ca 150 BC); Krauskopf 1974, 56, 106 (Pol 26: 200-150 BC); Small 1981, 66, 123 no 86, pl. 38 (Arruns and/or Brutus); Von Freytag 1986, 79-80, 283, U 54, pl. 62, 1; *LIMC* IV,1 Eteokles 33 (I. Krauskopf); Moltesen/Nielsen 1996, 78-81, no 26 (ca 150 BC).

55.
Florence, Museo Archeologico 5712 (542) (ex Castiglione Fiorentino)
Chiusi
225-200 BC
Chest: 58 x 39 x 27

BK II, 13, 1a; Small 1981, 63 no 80, pl. 36a (unidentified warriors); Von Freytag 1986, 282, U 47.

56. PT (*fig. 4*)
Florence, Museo Archeologico 5713 (465; 63) (ex coll. Giulietti, Chiusi)
Chiusi

Fig. 4. Cat. no 56 (photo Soprintendenza Archeologica per la Toscana - Florence).

250-225 BC
Chest: 79 x 54 x 48
Present lid (showing male figure) does not belong to chest
Short sides: head of a demon with a beaked nose in a frame (left); dolphin-like sea monster in a frame (right)
Traces of paint: red: shield and underskirt of P 5

BK II, 13, 2; Banti 1962, 298, pl. 104,2 (ca 150 BC); Ronzitti Orsolini 1971, 34, 53, 93, fig. II; Krauskopf 1974, 56, 106 (Pol 27: 200-150 BC); Borbein 1976, 520 and fig. 17; Small 1981, 64-65, 111, 183-184 no 83, pl. 37b (unidentified warriors); Von Vacano/Von Freytag 1982, 43, fig. 40; Von Freytag 1986, 78-79, 283, U 52, pl. 61, 2; *LIMC* IV,1 Eteokles 32 (I. Krauskopf).

57.
London, British Museum D 40-41
Chiusi, Hypogaeum R. Conservatorio
250-225 BC
Chest: 81 x 55 x 38
Lid: 85 x 57 x 41
Male lid figure, semi-draped, wearing a garland, holding a *patera umbilicata* of the 'Calenian' type. The recumbent is lying on a rug of animal skin
Traces of paint: (only on the lid): red: skin; yellow: rings; uncertain colour on pillows and bedspread
ET Cl 1.362; *CIE* 1446: *vel: umrana: arnthalisa* (lid); height: 2.1-3.2; type I B, 3rd cent. BC

BK II, 15, 2; Pryce 1931, 205-206, D 40-1, fig. 61; Krauskopf 1974, 56, 106-107 (Pol 28: 175-150 BC); Small 1981, 57-58, 121-122, 167 no 71, 1. 31 (unidentified warriors); Von Freytag 1986, 82, 283, U 56, pl. 63, 1; *LIMC* IV,1 Eteokles 35 (I. Krauskopf); Colonna 1993, 365-372 no 2, and nn. 13-15.

58.
Palermo, Museo Regionale Salinas 69
Chiusi
250-225 BC
Chest: 61 x 43 x 32

BK II, 13, 1b; Small 1981, 62 no 78, pl. 35a (unidentified warriors); Von Freytag 1986, 282, U 48.

59.
Palermo, Museo Regionale Salinas N.I. 8474 (57) (ex coll. Casuccini, Chiusi)
Chiusi
250-225 BC
Chest: 68 x 43 x 33; depth of relief: 2
Female lid figure

BK II, 13, 1; Ronzitti Orsolini 1971, 36, 95 and n. 107, fig. II; Krauskopf 1974, 56, 106 (Pol 23: 150-100 BC); Borbein 1976, 520 and fig. 16; Small 1981, 62, 114, 178 no 77, pl. 34b (unidentified warriors);Von Freytag 1986, 282, U 46, pl. 61, 1; *LIMC* IV,1 Eteokles 32 (I. Krauskopf); Steuernagel 1998, no 275, pl. 45,3 (225-175 BC).

60.
Palermo, Museo Regionale Salinas N.I. 11778 (49) (ex coll. Casuccini, Chiusi)
Chiusi
225-175 BC
Chest: 69 x 41 x 33
Short sides: rosette (*patera*?)

BK II, 15, 1; Krauskopf 1974, 56, 107 (Pol 31: 200-100 BC); Small 1981, 61, 121-122, 167 no 75, pl. 33b (unidentified warriors); Von Freytag 1986, 188, 282 U 45; *LIMC* IV,1 Eteokles 31 (I. Krauskopf).

61.
Rome, Vatican, Mus. Greg. Etr. 19016
Castiglione del Lago
225-175 BC
Chest: 72 x 43 (relief only)
Male lid figure wearing a garland, holding a *patera umbilicata* (missing)
ET Cl 1.408; *CIE* 4674: *arnth. panta* (lid); type II, 2nd cent. BC

BK II, 17, 1; Krauskopf 1974, 56, 106 (Pol 25: 200-100 BC); Small 1981, 17-18, 115 no 10, pl. 6b; Von Freytag 1986, 282, U 44, pl. 60, 2; *LIMC* IV,1 Eteokles 30 (I. Krauskopf); Sannibale 1994, 99-102, no 14, fig. 20 (225-200 BC).

62.
Siena, Museo Archeologico 731 (84) (ex coll. Bargagli, Sarteano)
Sarteano, tomb of the (Sentinate)-Cumere(sa)
225-200 BC
Chest: 81 x 50 x 32
Male lid figure with *cornucopia*, wearing a garland; with child
Short sides: torch surrounded by acanthus leaves
Traces of paint: many traces of red and blue (see Bianchi Bandinelli/Giuliano 1974, 306, fig. 355); red: inscription
ET Cl 1.326; *CIE* 1424: *larth cumeresa* (lid); height: 2.9; type II, 2nd cent. BC

BK II, 16, 4; Thimme 1957, 149-150, no 3, pl. 5,3; Mori 1968, 464, pl. 88d; Martini 1971, 91, 123-124, pl. 40 (150-100 BC); Ronzitti Orsolini 1971, 36 and n. 108; Bianchi Bandinelli/Giuliano 1974, 306 fig. 355 (300-200 BC); Krauskopf 1974, 55-56, 107 (Pol 29: 150-125 BC); Cristofani 1976, 131 fig. 177 (200-150 BC); Sprenger/Bartoloni 1977, 159-160, fig. 264 (ca 150 BC); Small 1981, 58-59, 182-185 no 72, pl. 32 a (unidentified warriors); Von Vacano/Von Freytag 1982, 45, fig. 43; Von Freytag 1986, 81, 283, U 58, pl. 64, 1; *LIMC* IV,1 Eteokles 34 (I. Krauskopf); Steuernagel 1998, no 276, pl. 45,2 (225-175 BC).

63.
Missing (ex coll. Giulietti, Chiusi (only known from description)
Chiusi
Chest: length: 67
Male lid figure
ET Cl 1.200; *CIE* 1260: *arnth: hele: larthalisa* (chest); type: unusual mixture of types

BK II, 13, 2a; Small 1981, 65 no 84 (unidentified warriors); Von Freytag 1986, 283, U 53.

Gigantomachy

Only one Chiusine urn shows a Gigantomachy scene. On the left of an altar a snake legged Giant kneels on the ground, defending himself against his assailant, a winged demon with a club and a wrap instead of an Olympian god. This demon is swinging a mallet in the Giant's direction, holding a *rotulus* in the left hand. On the right side a female winged demon with bare breasts grabs the hair of the kneeling victim. In the other hand she holds an unidentified object (maybe a human arm as depicted in comparable Gigantomachy scenes (see *LIMC* IV,1 Gigantes 256 and 268 (F. Vian)). Her victim tries to pick up a stone probably to use as a weapon.

64.
Grosseto, Museo Archeologico e d'Arte della Maremma
1988 (ex coll. Sozzi, Chiusi)
Chiusi, loc. Il Colle
250-225 BC
Chest (fr.): 68 x 40 x 28; depth of relief: 2
Lid: 61 x 34 x 29
Female lid figure (now on cat. no 39)

BK II, 1A, 2; *LIMC* IV,1 Gigantes 440 (F. Vian); Jannot 1993, 68, 77 pl. 7,3 (with wrong place of origin and museum); Steuernagel 1998, no 303, pl. 50,2 (200-150 BC).

Hippolytus

The scene depicting the death of Hippolytus frequently occurred in the Chiusine urn production. In the centre a bull attacks Hippolytus, who has already fallen off his chariot. The four horses try to break out in four directions. Several warriors and demons with cross-belts and torches are interfering in the confuse situation. It remains unclear whether they are assistants or enemies of Hippolytus.

65. (*fig. 5*)
Chiusi, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 62473 (563) (ex palazzo vescovile, Chiusi)
Chiusi, pod. Santa Mustiola, tomb of the Larcna
250-225 BC
Chest: 83 x 60 x 43; depth of relief: 7
Lid: 90 x 50 x 44
Male lid figure, semi-draped, wearing a garland, holding a *patera umbilicata* of the 'Calenian' type
Traces of paint: red and black: bull; black: hair and eyes of the persons without helmet, face of P 1, boots of demons (P 2 and 5)
ET Cl 1.2683: *]rthal: larisal: pa[p]alś [? ; CIE* 3156: *(-)rthal: larisal: pa(-)aln(-)*; type II, mixture 3rd-2nd cent. BC

BK II, 35, 5; Thimme 1954, 117-118, 123, n. 63, fig. 54 (175-150 BC); *LIMC* V,1 Hippolytos I 114 (P. Linant de Bellefonds).

66.
Chiusi, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 63010 (975) (ex coll. Pipparello)
Chiusi, Romitorio, tomb of the Sentinate
250-225 BC
Chest: 86 x 54 x 37; depth of relief: 10
Lid: 89 x 44 x 38
Male lid figure (it is doubtful whether the lid belongs to the chest)
Traces of paint: red: hair of P 1, 3 and 4, and clothes of P 2; black: hair of P 2
ET Cl 1.32: *la[----]-: velch[--]le[--]x*; *CIE* 488: *larthia. velchiti. letheś* (?) (chest)

BK II, 34, 4a; Thimme 1954, 117, 133, n. 63, fig. 56; 1957, 142, no 4; *LIMC* V,1 Hippolytos I 108 (P. Linant de Bellefonds).

67.
Chiusi, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 63015 (526)
Chiusi, tomb of the Marcni
250-225 BC
Chest: 89 x 68 x 47; depth of relief: 7
Female lid figure (it is doubtful whether the lid belongs to the chest; maybe originally male lid figure (see Thimme 1957))
Short sides: amphora (*in bacellatura*) surrounded by acanthus leaves
Traces of paint: many traces of red and blue on long and short sides
ET Cl 1.1114; *CIE* 2431: *aule: marcni: fremrnal* (chest); height: 2.5; type II, 3rd cent. BC

BK II, 34, 4; Thimme 1954, 125, fig. 55; 1957, 146, no 3; *LIMC* V,1 Hippolytos I 107 (P. Linant de Bellefonds); Colonna 1993, 344.

68.
Chiusi, tomba della Pellegrina (no inv. no)
Chiusi, tomba della Pellegrina?
225-200 BC
Chest: 68 x 58 x 43; depth of relief: 13
Female lid figure in the usual drapery with cross-belts and circular buckle, holding a *patera*

Thimme 1954, 117-119, 128-132, no 16 (175-150 BC (lid), chest later).

Fig. 5. Cat. no 65 (photo author).

69.
Florence, Museo Archeologico 5647 (543) (chest); 5776 (lid) (ex coll. Pipparello)
Chiusi, Romitorio, tomb of the Sentinate
250-225 BC
Chest: 89 x 55 x 42; depth of relief: 8
Lid: 95 x 42 x 42
Male lid figure, semi-draped, holding a *patera umbilicata*, wearing a garland and a *corona civica* (original lid; now on chest Florence, Museo Archeologico 5767 (91); cat. no 22)
Short sides: amphora surrounded by acanthus leaves
Traces of paint: red: bull; black: lower edge, chariot, background; pink: ground
ET Cl 1.29; *CIE* 1277: *vel: seiate: helial: larthal* (lid); height: 4; type II, 2nd cent. BC

BK II, 35, 5a; Thimme 1957, 141-142, no 1; *LIMC* V,1 Hippolytos I 114 (P. Linant de Bellefonds).

70.
Florence, coll. R. Giglio (in the 1970s of the 20th century); lid since 1905 in Antiquario Pacini (linked to another chest)
Chiusi, Hypogaeum R. Conservatorio, tomb of the Umrana
Male lid figure
ET Cl 1.365; *CIE* 1449: *arnth: umrana: vl* (lid); type II, 2nd cent. BC

BK II, 33, 1; *LIMC* V,1 Hippolytos I 110 (P. Linant de Bellefonds); Colonna 1993, 365-372 no 4, fig. 3; pl. 27 b, and nn. 16-17.

71.
London, British Museum D 42-43
Chiusi (agro clusino François)
250-225 BC
Chest: 85 x 58 x 39; depth of relief: 10
Lid: 90 x 51 x 41
Male lid figure, semi-draped, wearing a garland, holding a *patera umbilicata*
Short sides: upper half of a male demon in a niche holding a pick (left) or a mallet (right)
Traces of paint: black: boots, wheel, hair, wing of Vanth; traces of dark paint: trellis on the white coloured background of the niche; yellow: garland and *patera* of the lid figure
ET Cl 1.1893; *CIE* 2372: *aule: latini: pultus: larthal* (lid); height: 3-3.5; type II, 3rd cent. BC

Pryce 1931, 207-209, D 42-43, fig. 62-64; Thimme 1954, 117-118 n. 63 (150-125 BC); *LIMC* V,1 Hippolytos I 113 (P. Linant de Bellefonds).

72.
London, British Museum D 44-45
Chiusi (agro clusino François)
250-225 BC
Chest: 83 x 59 x 44; depth of relief: 8
Lid: 113 x 61 x 49
Female lid figure (it is doubtful whether the lid belongs to the chest; see also date of inscription)
Traces of paint: red: head P 1 and 2, skirt P 3, head and shoulder P 5, dress P 8, inscription, mattress, jewellery, pillow; white: parts of skin and lower tunica
ET Cl 1.2139; *CIE* 2602: *thana prestni: pultusalisa:* (lid); height: 2.2-3.3; type II, 2nd cent. BC

BK II, 36, 6 (upper drawing); Pryce 1931, 209-210, D 44-45, fig. 65-66; Thimme 1954, 117 n. 63; *LIMC* V,1 Hippolytos I 112 (P. Linant de Bellefonds).

73.
Palermo, Museo Regionale Salinas N.I. 8466 (42) (ex coll. Casuccini, Chiusi)
Chiusi
250-225 BC
Chest: 90 x 80 x 47; depth of relief: 7.5
Present lid figure does not belong to the chest
Short sides: upper half of a female demon with bare breasts in a niche, holding a hammer (right); upper half of a male demon (left)
Traces of paint: red-violet: the horses' harnesses; yellow: bridle, horses' legs and the bull's hoofs; brown: hair of the demons; black: eyes of all persons

BK II, 33, 2; Thimme 1954, 117, 119, fig. 53, n. 63; 1957, 150-151, fig. 24; *LIMC* V,1 Hippolytos I 111 (P. Linant de Bellefonds).

74.
Sarteano, Palazzo Bargagli
Sarteano
250-225 BC
Chest: length: 90

BK II, 35, 5d.

75.
Siena, Museo Archeologico 728 (ex Palazzo Bargagli, Sarteano)
Sarteano
250-225 BC
Chest: 82 x 56 x 35; depth of relief: 6
Lid: 87 x 38 x 35
Male lid figure in bad condition (it is doubtful whether the lid belongs to the chest)
Traces of paint: red: bodies of the persons, fire of the torch, horses; yellow: girdle and cross-belt of Vanth, parts of the harnesses, spokes of the wheel; gold-yellow: shields; purple: hair of the persons and the horses, background of the wheel

BK II, 34, 3; Thimme 1954, 115, 117-118, fig. 52, n. 63 (wrongly 'Chiusi 728'; 200-175 BC 'first of Hippolytus series'); *LIMC* V,1 Hippolytos I 109 (P. Linant de Bellefonds).

76.
Missing (ex coll. Giulietti, Chiusi)
Chiusi
Chest: length: 76

BK II, 33, 2a; *LIMC* V,1 Hippolytos I 111 (P. Linant de Bellefonds).

77.
Missing (ex coll. Paolozzi, Chiusi)
Chiusi
Chest: length: 70

BK II, 34, 3a.

78.
Missing (ex coll. Paolozzi, Chiusi; ex coll. Terrosi, Cetona)
Chiusi
Chest: length: 85

BK II, 35, 5c.

Iphigenia in Aulis

Whereas the scene was frequently used in the Perugine and Volterran urn production, in Chiusi only one urn showing the sacrifice of Iphigenia is known to us. In the centre the bearded Calchas pours out a libation using a *patera umbilicata*. The fact that he wears a cuirass could point to his identification as Agamemnon. However, the kneeling man on his right side has been correctly identified as such, therefore it seems appropriate to interpret the sacrificial priest as Calchas, as in the Greek iconografical tradition. From the left Iphigenia is being taken away from the altar by Artemis. At the same time a servant brings a sacrificial animal (rather a swine than a hind) to the altar. Clytaemnestra (on the left side of the scheme) and Agamemnon (already discussed above) watch the miracle of the substitution, raising their hands as a sign of disbelief and surprise. A naked warrior supports Clytaemnestra. The woman behind Agamemnon could be Electra. On the right side of the scheme an unidentified figure is watching the scene.

79.
Chiusi, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 955 (ex coll. Paolozzi, Chiusi)
Chiusi
250-225 BC
Chest: 84 x 55 x 43
Male lid figure, semi-draped, wearing a garland
Traces of paint: red: hair of several persons, beard of P 6

BK I, 47, 26; Rebuffat 1972, 532, 534 fig. 10 b; *LIMC* I,1 Agamemnon 39 (O. Touchefeu/I. Krauskopf); Heurgon 1984, 319; *LIMC* V,1 Iphigeneia (in Etruria) 16 (I. Krauskopf); Steuernagel 1998, no 44, pl. 9,1 (200-150 BC).

Meleager

Meleager attacks from the left with a spear the Calydonian boar placed in the centre of the scene. Atalanta strikes from the right with an axe. One wounded or dead hunter lies on the ground. Several hunters assist Meleager and Atalanta. Originally one or two dogs and a palm tree are part of the scheme.

80.
Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico IT 1275
Madonna di Riguardo (between Chiusi and Cetona)
225-200 BC
Chest: 55 x 33 x 30; depth of relief: 5
Male lid figure, semi-draped, holding a *patera umbilicata* of the 'Calenian' type
Traces of paint: red: boar, hair, spear of P 2, mattress and hair of the lid figure; black: eyes of all persons, boot of P 3
ET Cl 1.800; *CIE* 1556: *vel: teta: arnthal* (lid); height: 2.5; type II, 2nd cent. BC

BK III, 246, suppl. to BK II, 20, 4c.

81.
Florence, Museo Archeologico 5649 (ex Società Colombaria, Florence)
Chiusi
225-200 BC
Chest: 68 x 45 x 35; depth of relief: 6
Short sides: hourglass formed hole in the upper (left) and lower (right) part, possibly of later date
Traces of paint: red: boar
BK II, 57, 3d; *LIMC* VI,1 Meleagros 54 (S. Woodford/I. Krauskopf).

82.
Florence, villa (ex Casamorata) E. Rossi
Chiusi
Chest: length: 70

BK II, 57, 3a; *LIMC* VI,1 Meleagros 54 (S. Woodford/I. Krauskopf).

83.
Grosseto, Museo Archeologico e d'Arte della Maremma 1982 (lid) 1984 (chest) (ex coll. Sozzi, Chiusi)
Chiusi, loc. Il Colle, tomb I
225-200 BC
Chest: 72 x 41 x 33; depth of relief: 4
Lid: ? (fr.) x 37 x 35
Male lid figure, semi-draped, holding a *patera umbilicata*

BK II, 58, 4; *LIMC* VI,1 Meleagros 55 (S. Woodford/I. Krauskopf).

84. PT
Palermo, Museo Regionale Salinas 41 (ex coll. Casuccini, Chiusi)
Chiusi
250-225 BC
Chest: length: 92

BK II, 58, 5; Borbein 1976, 522 and fig. 21; *LIMC* VI,1 Meleagros 55 (S. Woodford/I. Krauskopf).

85.
Palermo, Museo Regionale Salinas 55 (ex coll.Casuccini, Chiusi)
Chiusi
Chest: length: 65

BK II, 57, 3b; *LIMC* VI,1 Meleagros 54 (S. Woodford/I. Krauskopf).

86.
Palermo, Museo Regionale Salinas 67 (ex coll. Casuccini, Chiusi)
Chiusi
Chest: length: 52

BK II, 57, 3c; *LIMC* VI,1 Meleagros 54 (S. Woodford/I. Krauskopf).

87.
Perugia, Museo
Chiusi
Chest: length: 60

BK II, 58, 4b; *LIMC* VI,1 Meleagros 55 (S. Woodford/I. Krauskopf).

88.
Rome, Musei Vaticani, garden of Pigna
Chiusi
Chest: length: 59

BK II, 58, 4a; *LIMC* VI,1 Meleagros 55 (S. Woodford/I. Krauskopf).

89.
Missing (ex coll. Gigli, Florence)
Chiusi, 'Deposito delle Monache', tomb of the Umrana
250-200 BC
Chest: length: 70

BK II, 57, 3; *LIMC* VI,1 Meleagros 54 (S. Woodford/I. Krauskopf); Colonna 1993, 371 fig. 5.

Oenomaus

The scheme of the Death of Oenomaus resembles that of the Death of Hippolytus (see above). In the centre Oenomaus has fallen off his chariot. On his left side he is being attacked by Pelops who is about to hit him with a wheel. Several unidentified warriors serve as fillers, on some urn reliefs a winged Vanth grabs the reins of one of the horses.

90.
Berlin, Staatliche Museen Sk. 1273
Chiusi
250-225 BC
Chest: 86 x 63
Traces of paint: red, green, brown, black

BK II, 46, 12b; Rumpf 1928, 30, E 47, pl. 33; *LIMC* III,1 Erinys 109 (H. Sarian); Schade/Kunze 1988, 317, 356, fig. D 5.10 (150-125 BC).

91.
Chiusi, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 892
Ponte dell'Astrone
250-225 (/200) BC
Chest: 83 x 49 x 42; depth of relief: 7
Lid: 85 x min. 35 (head is missing) x 38
Female lid figure in usual drapery with cross-belts, circular buckle and bracelets
Short sides: demon in arch-shaped door
Traces of paint: red: chariot, P 4, part of the skirt of P 1, shield of P 6, dress of P 5, inscription on the lid; blue: wings of P 5, part of the background
ET Cl 1.2569; *CIE* 906: *tutnei: recusa:* (lid); height: 3.1; type II, 2nd cent. BC

BK II, 46, 12.

92.
Chiusi, tomba di Poggio al Moro
Chiusi, tomba di Poggio al Moro
Chest: length: 60

BK II, 116, 1a.

93.
Copenhagen, National Museum 3844
Città della Pieve, tomb of the Purni
250-225 BC
Female lid figure in usual drapery, wearing a girdle under the breasts
ET Cl 1.664: *larthi: purnei rapalnisa*; *CIE* 4907: *[l]arthi. purnei: rapalnisa* (lid); height: 1.6-2.8; type II, 3rd cent. BC

Thimme 1957, 128-129, 133-134, no 13, pl. 4, 2 (dating problematic); Nielsen 1990, 64, fig. 18; *LIMC* VII,1 Oinomaos 27a (I. Triantis).

94. PT (*fig. 6*)
Florence, Museo Archeologico 5651 (ex Società Colombaria, Florence)
Chiusi
250-225 BC
Chest: 82 x 54 x 40; depth of relief: 5
Male lid figure, semi-draped, wearing a garland, holding a *patera umbilicata* of the 'Calenian' type
Traces of paint: red: mane of the horse in the upper right corner, inscription on the lid; black-red: chariot.
ET Cl 1.1887; *CIE* 2367: *vel: latini: cesusa:* (lid); height: 3-4.3; type II, 3rd cent. BC

BK II, 45, 10.

95.
Grosseto, Museo Archeologico e d'Arte della Maremma
1981 (lid), 1985 (chest) (ex coll. Sozzi, Chiusi)
Chiusi, loc. Il Colle, tomb II
225-200 BC
Chest: 75 x 49 x 35; depth of relief: 3
Lid: 80 x 42 x 42
Male lid figure, semi-draped, wearing a garland, holding a *patera umbilicata* of the 'Calenian' type
Traces of paint: purple: mane of the horses, space between the spokes; pink-red: cuirass, *chlamys* P 3; green: aprons and *pteruges* of all persons
ET Cl 1.152; *CIE* 1180: *laris: fraucni: velusa: latinialisa* (chest); type II, 2nd cent. BC

BK II, 45, 11.

96.
Missing (ex antiquities shop)
Chiusi
Chest: length: 71

BK II, 46, 12a.

Fig. 6. Cat. no. 94 (photo author).

Orestes and Pylades in Delphi

The scheme of Orestes and Pylades in Delphi, haunted by de Furies resembles the scheme of Achilles and Ajax after the murder of Troilus. The two friends (both naked except for a *chlamys*) kneel in symmetrical position on an altar in the centre of the scheme. Two Furies with torches ambush the men from left and right. The men defend themselves with a sword. Two amphoras used in sacrificial ceremonies lie in front of the altar.

97.
Chiusi, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 951 (chest), 465 (original (?) lid) (ex Pipparello)
Chiusi, San Giovanni, tomb of the Cupna (?)
225-200 BC
Chest: 49 x 34 x 23; depth of relief: 7
Male lid figure (original lid; present lid figure is female)
ET Cl 1.233; *CIE* 1320: *larthi. laursti* (on present lid); height: 3.8

BK I, 82, 15; Thimme 1957, 143 no 4, fig. 18 (lid); fig. 19 (chest); Pairault 1972, 101 pl. 36 b; *LIMC* VII,1 Orestes 38 (H. Sarian/V. Machaira); Steuernagel 1998, no 223, pl. 38,3 (150-100 BC).

98.
Chiusi, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 968
Chiusi
225-200 BC
Chest: 50 x 37 x 21

Steuernagel 1998, no 224, pl. 38,4 (200-150 BC).

99. PT (*fig. 7*)
Florence, Museo Archeologico 5771 (93) (ex Museo della Società Colombaria, Florence)
Chiusi
250-225 BC
Chest: 52 x 36 x 28

BK I, 82, 14; Pairault 1972, 102, pl. 36 a; *LIMC* VII,1 Orestes 38 (H. Sarian/V. Machaira); Steuernagel 1998, no 222, pl. 38,2 (right) (225-175 BC).

100.
Missing (ex coll. Casuccini, Chiusi)
Chiusi
225-175 BC
Chest: length: 76

BK I, 81, 12; *LIMC* VII,1 Orestes 40 (H. Sarian/V. Machaira).

Fig. 7. Cat. no 99 (photo Soprintendenza Archeologica per la Toscana - Florence).

Orestes and Pylades in Tauris

The urns representing Orestes and Pylades in the land of the Taurians can be divided into two groups: in the first the complex scheme, similar to that of Cacu and the Vibenna brothers (see below), is used, while the second includes some urns with a less complex symmetrical scheme. In both groups the emphasis lies on Orestes (right) and Pylades; both sit on an altar ready to be sacrificed by Iphigenia. In the complex scheme, Iphigenia stands next to Pylades, who - in some cases - holds the letter (*pugillares*) of Iphigenia in his hand. In other cases Iphigenia herself holds this letter. The letter points to the rescue of Orestes and Pylades. Next to Orestes stands a Vanth or a naked man and by the right margin of the scene stands an unidentified warrior. Sometimes the head of a horse is visible, pointing to the escape from the altar. The simple scheme doubles the sacrificial priestess and leaves Vanth, unidentified men and the horse out. On the altar the heads of two sacrificed men are visible. It cannot be excluded that the simple scheme can still be interpreted as Orestes and Pylades in Tauris. Cat. no 106 seems to be a mixture of the two schemes. In this case the following interpretation is possible: Orestes appears twice: first, when recognized by his sister Iphigenia, second, during his flight. He looks behind for the last time before leaving the altar and his enemies, guided by Iphigenia (see Steuernagel 1998, 39-40 for discussion).

101.
Chianciano Terme, Museo Civico Archeologico delle Acque di Chianciano Terme
Chianciano Terme, tomb of the Nachrni
250-225 BC
Chest: 54 x 44 x 33
Lid: 61 x 25 (fr) x 33
Male lid figure (head is missing)
ET Cl 1.979: vel: *nachrni: velusa*; type I B, 3rd cent. BC

Thimme 1954, 106-107, n. 57; Michelucci 1977, 94, no 1; REE 45 (1977) 309-310, no 44 and 284, fig. 2, no 44, pl. 41 (with wrong no 11) (M. Michelucci); Steuernagel 1998, no 48 (225-175 BC).

102.
Chiusi, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 284599 (ex 1014 A) (ex coll. Giulietti, Chiusi)
Chiusi
200-175 BC
Chest: 47 x 41 x 26; depth of relief: 2
Female lid figure in usual drapery with cross-belts and circular buckle, wearing bracelets
Short sides: rosette (*patera*?) in square cadre

BK II, 78, 7; Thimme 1954, 106, n. 57; Pairault 1972, 143, pl. 88; Steuernagel 1998, no 50 (225-175 BC).

103.
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek H. 298 (H.I.N. 61) (ex coll. Giorgi-Taccini, Città della Pieve)
Città della Pieve, tomb of the Purni
250-225 BC
Chest: 89 x 60 x 36; depth of relief: 6
Lid: 91 x 55 x 39
Male lid figure, semi-draped, wearing a garland, holding a *patera umbilicata* of the 'Calenian' type
Short sides: winged Scylla with scull
Traces of paint: black: eyes and hair of persons; red: bridle of the right horse; the surface was originally painted with a cream coloured layer to cover the veins in the material
ET Cl. 1.654; *CIE* 1346: *larth: purni: larthal: raufesa* (lid); type II, 3rd cent. BC

BK I, 84, 2a; Thimme 1957, 120, no 1 (chest: c. 150 BC, lid older); Pairault 1972 143, pl. 89; Small 1982, 50-55, 61-65, 122-123 no 9, fig. 11 (Cacu? the prisoner; 200-100 BC); Massa-Pairault 1985, 53-58; *LIMC* V,1 Iphigeneia (in Etruria) 21 (I. Krauskopf); Colonna 1993, 359 and n. 116; Moltesen/Nielsen 1996, 86-89, no 28 (160-130 BC); Steuernagel 1998, no 45, pl. 10,1 (225-175 BC).

104. (*fig. 8*)
Florence, Museo Archeologico 5777 (98)
Chiusi, pod. Colle Lucioli
250-225 BC
Chest: 90 x 60 x 42; depth of relief: 7
Lid: 90 x 60 x 38
Male lid figure
Short sides: door to the Underworld
ET Cl 1.183; *CIE* 1376: *arnth: velsi: censu: vesialisa* (lid); height: 2.2-3; type II, 3rd cent. BC; mixture type IB and II, 3rd cent. BC

BK I, 84, 1; Thimme 1957, 120-121 n. 20, fig. 12, pl. 3,1; Pairault 1972, 143 pl. 91 a-b; Small 1982, 50-55, 61-65, 120-121, no 7 fig. 8 (Cacu? the prisoner; 200-100 BC); Bonfante 1984a, 532-533. pl. 70,3; 1984b, 144 pl. 2 b; Maggiani 1985, 48 no 26 (ca 200 BC) (A. Maggiani); Massa-Pairault 1985 53-58; *LIMC* V,1 Iphigeneia (in Etruria) 20 (I. Krauskopf); Steuernagel 1998, no 46 (225-175 BC).

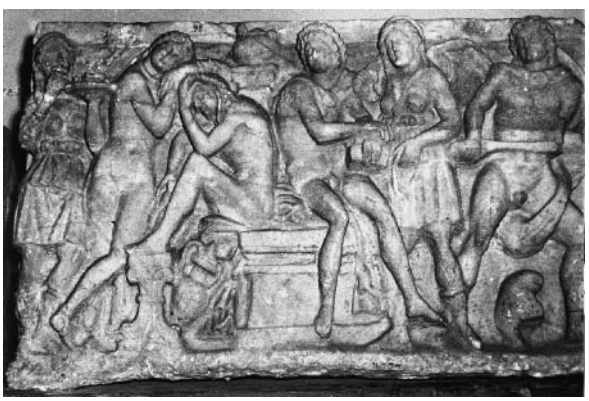

Fig. 8. Cat. no 104 (photo L.B. van der Meer).

105.
Manchester Museum 29949a-b
Chiusi
250-225 BC
Chest: 85.5 x 54.5 x 37.5
Lid: 90.3 x 53 x 41
Male lid figure, semi-draped, wearing a garland, holding a *patera umbilicata*
Traces of paint: red: hair, clothing, armour; black: eyes
aule: murina: l[---]

MacIntosh Turfa 1982, 191-192 (ca 150-125 B.C).

106.
New York University Collection (ex antiquities shop Milani, Rome)
Piansano
225-175 BC
Chest: 51.5 x 35 x 22.5

BK II, 78, 8a; Bonfante 1984a, passim, pl. 70,1-2; 1984b, 143-150, pl. I; *LIMC* V,1 Iphigeneia (in Etruria) 22 (I. Krauskopf); Steuernagel 1998, no 49, pl. 10,3 (225-175 BC).

107.
Siena, Museo Archeologico 730 (79) (ex Palazzo Bargagli, Sarteano)
Sarteano, pod. 'Le Tombe', tomb of the (Sentinate)-Cumere(sa)
250-225 BC
Chest: 87 x 63 x 35; depth of relief: 7
Lid: 88 x 63 x 45
Male lid figure, semi-draped, wearing a garland, holding a *patera umbilicata* of the 'Calenian' type
Short sides: winged Gorgo head
Traces of paint: red: inscription
ET Cl 1.325; *CIE* 1423: *arnth: sentinate: cumeresa* (lid); height: 2.6-4.6; mixture type IB and II, 3rd cent. BC

BK I, 84, 2; Thimme 1957, 149, no 2, pl. 3,2; Pairault 1972, 142-143, pl. 92-94; Small 1982, 50-55, 61-65, 121-122 no 8 fig. 9-10 (Cacu? the prisoner; 200-100 BC); Bonfante 1984a, 532-533, pl. 70,4; 1984b, 144 pl. 3a; Maggiani 1985, 48 no 25 (225-200 BC) (A. Maggiani); Massa-Pairault 1985, 53-58, fig. 29; Colonna 1993, 359 and n. 116, pl. 24 a-b; *LIMC* V,1 Iphigeneia (in Etruria) 19 (I. Krauskopf); Steuernagel 1998, 47, pl. 10,2 (225-175 BC).

108.
Missing
Chiusi

BK II, 78, 8; Bonfante 1984a, 533-534, fig. 1; 1984b, 145-146, pl. 2a; *LIMC* V,1 Iphigeneia (in Etruria) 23 (I. Krauskopf); Steuernagel 1998, no 51.

Paris

The recognition of Paris, a scheme frequently used in Volterra, is present in Chiusi on several urns. In the centre of the scheme Paris kneels on an altar. The palm branch in his hand points to his victory. A bearded man on the left grabs Paris' wrist. The interpretation of this man is problematic. Is he his father Priamus, his brother Deiphobus who attacks Paris (Hyginus, *fab*. 91), the old *paidagogos*, a servant, or even one of the herdsmen that raised Paris? I favour Deiphobus because of the Chiusine sequence of assailant - victim - assailant. The antecedents, among which Etruscan reliefs on mirror boxes from Tarquinia (4th century BC; *LIMC* I,1 Alexandros 22-23 (R. Hampe/I. Krauskopf)), also point to the interpretation of the bearded man as an assailant. On the right side a female figure attacks Paris with an axe. She could be his mother Hecuba or his sister Cassandra. The latter interpretation seems preferable because of contemporary parallels on Volterran urns, on which the woman is presented as a young girl.

Only on one example (cat. no 113) is present Turan (Venus), the female saviour of Paris. One or two unidentified warriors are used as fillers. One urn (cat. no 112) shows Paris attacked by two Furies with torches, like in the scheme of Orestes and Pylades in Delphi (see above).

109. PT (*fig. 9*)
Chiusi, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 63007 (952) (ex palazzo vescovile, Chiusi)
Chiusi
250-225 BC
Chest: 66 x 44 x 30; depth of relief: 4
Lid: 70 x 45 x 48
Male lid figure wearing a garland, holding a *patera umbilicata*. The recumbent is lying on a rug of animal skin
Traces of paint: black: eyes P1 and 2, palm branch on altar (only painted not executed in relief)

BK I, 16, 33; Thimme 1954, 39, fig. 6; Van der Meer 1975, 183, fig. 6; *LIMC* I,1 Alexandros 41 (R. Hampe/I. Krauskopf); Steuernagel 1998, no 112, pl. 24,1 (200-150 BC).

110.
Chiusi, Museo Archeologico Nazionale (no inv. no)
Chiusi, tomba della Barcaccia (II)
225-200 BC
Chest: 76 x 53 x 34; depth of relief: 6
Lid: 76 x 35 x 35
Female lid figure with a girdle under the breasts
larthia: calpurnia: achni[..]a (lid); type II, 2nd cent. BC

Steuernagel 1998, no 111, pl. 24,3-4.

111.
Florence, Museo Archeologico 89196 (ex coll. Farinola; ex coll. Giulietti, Chiusi)
Chiusi, tomb of the Hele
225-200 BC
Chest: 94 x 52 x 34; depth of relief: 9
Male lid figure (original lid)
Short sides: round shield in the centre, a *pelta* is represented under the shield, in the upper corners feathers of helmets
Traces of paint: black: eyes, hair and boots of all persons, beard and *chiton* of P 2, headgear of P 3; red: girdle of P 2, cape of P 3 and 5, skirt and headgear of P 5, inscription; colours seem to have been retouched in a later period
ET Cl 1.203; *CIE* 1263: *larth: hele: capna[l]* (chest)

BK III, 234, 16, 33a; *LIMC* I,1 Alexandros 28 (R. Hampe/I. Krauskopf); Steuernagel 1998, no 110, pl. 24,2 (200-150 BC).

112.
Palermo, Museo Regionale Salinas N.I. 8477 (35) (ex coll. Casuccini, Chiusi)
Chiusi
225-175 BC
Chest: 48 x 41 x 23; depth of relief: 3
Female lid figure (original lid)
Traces of paint: red: inscription
ET Cl 1.1273: *thanchvil arntnei*; *CIE* 1773: *[th]anch[vi]l: arntnei* (chest); height: 2.5; type II, 3rd cent. BC

BK I, 15, 32; Borbein 1976, 513, fig. 7; *LIMC* I,1 Alexandros 42 (R. Hampe/I. Krauskopf); Steuernagel 1998, no 169, pl. 30,1 (225-175 BC).

113.
Siena, Museo Archeologico 732 (87) (ex Palazzo Bargagli, Sarteano)
Sarteano, pod. 'Le Tombe'
225-200 BC
Chest: 75 x 50 x 29; depth of relief: max. 8
Lid: 73 x min. 37 x 31
Male lid figure in bad condition, with *patera* (it is doubtful whether the lid belongs to the chest)
Short sides: *kantharos*, surrounded by acanthus leaves

BK I, 16, 34; Martelli/Cristofani 1977, 119 (A. Maggiani); *LIMC* I,1 Alexandros 38 (R. Hampe/I. Krauskopf); Maggiani 1985, 75, no 57 (M. Nielsen); Steuernagel 1998, no 121, pl. 26,1 (200-150 BC).

114.
Missing (ex. coll. Giulietti, Chiusi)
Chiusi, tomb of the Hele
Chest: length: 55
Male lid figure
ET Cl 1.204; *CIE* 1264: *vel hele arnthalisa* (chest); height: 2.4; type II, 3rd-2nd cent. BC

BK III, 234-235, 16, 34a; Steuernagel 1998, no 124.

Thebes (siege)

In the prototype, cat. no 116, the scheme is a composition from at least four scenes: in the centre Capaneus who climbs the ladder against the city wall. Over his left arm hangs a dead body (Menoecus?). Next to the ladder a bearded demon watches Capaneus while holding a torch in the one hand and raising the other in despair. Under the ladder Parthenopaeus kneels on the ground and tries to shield himself from the stones an enemy on and a female demon behind him throw at him from the city wall. Adrastus guided by a winged demon escapes with a *quadriga*. Since according to the myth Areion, the horse of the sea god, saves Adrastus, a winged demon with snake legs appears in front of the *quadriga*. Another interpretation for the man on the left *quadriga* could be that he is Periclymenus about to throw a javelin to Amphiaraus on the right *quadriga*. However, no indication of a javelin can be found. When one compares in depth this relief with its antecedents and parallels, like the Gjölbaschi Trysa frieze (ca 400 BC) and the Talamone pediment (ca 180-160 BC) in which Adrastus is the better option, it becomes more plausible for this interpretation to fit also the prototype of the Chiusine urn series. The right *quadriga* with Amphiaraus and another man, maybe his charioteer Baton, sinks into the ground, thus saving Amphiaraus from a dishonourable death on the battlefield.

In the other Chiusine urns the scheme is reduced to the central scene of Capaneus with the dead body on the ladder, the demons and Parthenopaeus. To this composition a few anonymous bystanders are added. The scheme of Chiusi, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 1013 A (37) (cat. no 115) is completely different from the usual scheme: Capaneus climbs the ladder on the left, the city-gate dominates the right side. On the city-wall a Vanth holding a torch watches Menoecus (?) running and ready to jump off the wall.

115.
Chiusi, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 1013 A (37)
Chiusi
225-175 BC
Chest: 35 x 34 x 25; depth of relief: 0.5

BK II, 23, 6; Krauskopf 1974, 49, 54, 57, 99 (Kap 4: 200-100 BC?); Childs 1978, 74 and n. 89; Small 1981, 76, 155, 169 no 97, pl. 43 b (unidentified warriors); Von Freytag 1986, 285, U 66, pl. 67, 2; *LIMC* V,1 Kapaneus 13 (I. Krauskopf).

116. PT (*fig. 10*)
Chiusi, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 63012 (215) (ex coll. Paolozzi)
Chiusi, tomb of the Marcni
250-225 BC
Chest: 111 x 63 x 40; depth of relief: 6.5
Lid: 115 x 48 (head is missing) x 47
Male lid figure, semi-draped, wearing a garland, holding a *patera umbilicata* of the 'Calenian' type
ET Cl 1.1116: aule: *m[ar]cni: crapilu: pu[rnal]*; *CIE* 2433: *aule: m[arc]ni: crapilu: pu[rnal]*; (lid); height: 3.5; type II, 2nd cent. BC

BK II, 24, 8; Thimme 1957, 147, no 5, fig. 22; Von Vacano 1960, 69; 1961, 59-63; Ronzitti Orsolini 1971, 38, 99, fig. II; Krauskopf 1974, 54, 57, 110 pl. 23,2 (Sie 18: 150-100 BC); Childs 1978, 74, fig. 37; Small 1981, 22-23, 151-156, 185 no 15, pl. 9 a; Von Vacano/Von Freytag 1982, 111,

Fig. 9. Cat. no 109 (photo author).
Fig. 10. Cat. no 116 (photo L.B. van der Meer).

fig. 174; *LIMC* I,1 Adrastus 22 (I. Krauskopf); *LIMC* I,1 Amphiaraus 44 (I. Krauskopf); Von Freytag 1986, 284, U 65, pl. 67, 1; *LIMC* VII,1 Septem 50 (I. Krauskopf).

117.
Missing? (ex coll. Giulietti, Chiusi)
Chiusi
250-225 BC
Chest: length: 62
Female lid figure
ET Cl 1.206; *CIE* 1266: *thania: heli: tetinasa* (lid); height: 4.6; type II, 2nd cent. BC

BK II, 23, 7; Krauskopf 1974, 49, 54, 57, 110 (Sie 17: 150-100 BC); Small 1981, 24-25, 155 no 18, pl. 10 b; Von Freytag 1986, 285, U 69; *LIMC* V,1 Kapaneus 18 (I. Krauskopf).

118.
Palermo, Museo Regionale Salinas N.I. 11257 (33) (ex coll. Casuccini, Chiusi)
Chiusi
225-200 BC
Chest: 91 x 45 x 36; depth of relief: 4.5
Lid: 95 x 49 x 47
Male lid figure, semi-draped, wearing a garland, holding a *patera umbilicata*
Traces of paint: red: inscription
ET Cl 1.2309; *CIE* 2673: vel: *remzna: larth*///// (lid); height: 3; type II, 2nd cent. BC

BK II, 24, 9; Krauskopf 1974, 49, 54, 57, 109 (Sie 16: 150-100 BC); Childs 1978, 74, n. 94; Small 1981, 23-24, 155, 167-174, no 26 pl. 9 b; Von Freytag 1986, 285, U 67, pl. 68, 1; *LIMC* V,1 Kapaneus 20 (I. Krauskopf).

119.
Siena, Museo Archeologico 637 (chest); 737 (lid); (ex Palazzo Bargagli, Sarteano)
Sarteano, pod. 'Le Tombe'
225-200 BC
Chest: 71 x 40 x 25; depth of relief: 5
Lid: 76 x min. 30 x 29
Male lid figure (it is doubtful whether the lid belongs to the chest)

BK II, ad 24, 9a; Childs 1978, 74, n. 94; Small 1981, 24, 155, 167-174 no 17, pl. 10 a; Von Freytag 1986, 285, U. 68, pl. 69, 1; *LIMC* V,1 Kapaneus 19 (I. Krauskopf).

Troilus

The scheme representing the murder of Troilus consists of Troilus on his horse. On the left a warrior with a sword (Achilles) grabs his victim by the hair. The number of figures is variable. On the right Vanth tries to stop the assailants. Sometimes the city gate is visible in the background (cat. no 122). The armour of the victim lies on the ground (cat. nos 123, 125 (PT)).

On cat. no 127 the scheme resembles the Perugian series with the Troilus theme: Troilus and the horse fall while being attacked. The scheme of Eteocles and Polyneices is used once (cat. no 120). The struggle between Troilus and Achilles takes place on the ground. The role of the small figure in the background is unclear. Maybe he tries to separate the men. A female demon with a torch holds the reins of the horse. An unidentified warrior watches the fight.

120.
Cetona, private collection (ex coll. Giglio, Florence); lid since the beginning of the 1960's in coll. Ch. Nicholson, Sydney University Museum
Chiusi, 'Deposito delle Monache', tomb of the Umrana
225-200 BC
Chest: 75 x 45 x 41
ET Cl 1.366; *CIE* 1450: *fasti: sentinati: umranasa* (original lid); type II, 3rd cent. BC

BK II, 93, 1; Colonna 1993, 365-372 no 3, fig. 4 and n. 18-21; Steuernagel 1998, no 272 (200-150 BC).

121.
Chiusi, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 954 (ex coll. Pipparello)
Chiusi, San Giovanni, tomb of the Cupna
250-225 BC
Chest: 54 x 46 x 30; depth of relief: 4.5
Present male lid figure does not belong to the chest

BK I, 52, 10; Thimme 1957, 143-145, no 5, fig. 20; *LIMC* I,1 Achle 36 (G. Camporeale).

122.
Chiusi, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 63009 (964)
Pod. delle Monache (between Chiusi and Sarteano)
225-200 BC
Chest: 81 x 45 x 32; depth of relief: 5
Lid: 88 x 48 x 38
Male lid figure, semi-draped, wearing a garland, holding a *patera umbilicata* (head resembles Pergamene king's portrait, possibly between 225 and 200 BC)
Traces of paint: red: wings of Vanth, hair of all persons, eyes of all those lying, inside of the shield of a lying figure; blue: helmet lying next to the feet of P 1; black: background, clothes of P 3

BK I, 53, 12; *LIMC* I,1 Achle 38 (G. Camporeale).

123.
Chiusi, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 63019 (948 A)
Chiusi
250-225 BC
Chest: 88 x 58 x 33; depth of relief: 8
Lid: 92 x 56 x 38
Male lid figure holding a *kantharos*; female (?) head

Short sides: winged demon with torch in square framework
Traces of paint: red: inside of the shield of P 1, feather on the helmet of P 1

LIMC I,1 Achle 35 (G. Camporeale).

124.
Cortona, Museo dell'Accademia Etrusca E 1906 AM (36)
Chiusi
225-200 BC
Chest: 78 x 46 x 30; depth of relief: 4
Lid: 74 x 33 x 38
Female lid figure, holding a fan
Traces of paint: red: hair of the persons, the horse's mane, clothes; black: eyes of P 1, background behind the horse's head
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BK I, 52, 9; *LIMC* I,1 Achle 40 (G. Camporeale).

125. PT
London, British Museum D 36-37 (ex coll. E. Braun)
Chiusi (agro clusino François)
250-225 BC
Chest: 86 x 56 x 38; depth of relief: 8
Lid: 93 x 45 x 43
Female lid figure in usual drapery with bracelets, a torques and a girdle under the breasts. In her hand she holds a *patera*
Traces of paint: red: hair of P 1 and 2, shield of P 3, pelta; blue: skirt of P 4; black: eyes of the horse and of P 1 and 2
ET Cl 1.1784; *CIE* 2267: *larthi: heli: cainal: ucrsa* (lid); height: 5; type II, 2nd cent. BC

BK I, 50, 5; Pryce 1931, 202-203, D 36-37, fig. 58-59; *LIMC* I,1 Achle 37 (G. Camporeale).

126.
Palermo, Museo Regionale Salinas (?) (ex coll. Casuccini, Chiusi)
Chiusi
250-200 BC
Chest: length: 84

BK I, 53, 11; *LIMC* I,1 Achle 39 (G. Camporeale).

127.
Siena, Museo Archeologico 721 (ex Palazzo Bargagli, Sarteano)
Sarteano, pod. 'Le Tombe'
250-225 BC
Chest: 53 x 42 x 28; depth of relief: 4
Lid: 53 x 34 (head is missing) x 33
Female lid figure

BK III, 236, 15 b; Pairault 1972, 123-124, pl. 74; *LIMC* I,1 Achle 61 (G. Camporeale).

128.
Siena, Museo Archeologico 739 (36) (ex Palazzo Bargagli, Sarteano)
Pod. Solaia (between Sarteano and Castiglioncello di Trinore)
225-200 BC
Chest: 60 x min. 28 x 22
Lid: 62 x min. 34 x 29
Female (?) lid figure with *patera*
ET Cl 1.876; *CIE* 1466: *thana: petrui: paliesa* (chest); height: 2.5-3; type II, 2nd cent. BC

Unpublished.

Ulysses at Circe's palace

Only one Chiusine urn shows the theme of Ulysses at Circe's palace. In the centre Ulysses seems to fight two of his companions, although an alternative interpretation could be that the two companions are expressing their happiness at the arrival of Ulysses. Circe (absent in the scheme) transformed the companions into animals, here visible as men with a ram (left), a swine (right) and a lion head (kneeling on the ground, leaning on a helmet or a stone). On the left a Vanth attacks the ram-headed man with a sword and a snake, on the right a second Vanth holds another snake.

129.
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek H. 299 (H.I.N. 62)
Le Cardetelle (between Cetona and Chiusi), tomb of the Vetana
250-225 BC
Chest: 82 x 56 x 42
Female lid figure in the usual drapery with *patera*, bracelet and girdle under the breasts (original lid)
Traces of paint: pink: clothes; dark purple to dark brown: hair, beard P 3, snakes, boots; blue-green: sword P 1
ET Cl. 1.322; *CIE* 1420: *thania: vetanei: tutnasa* (on original lid: see Moltesen/Nielsen 1996); height: 4; type IB 3rd cent. BC

BK I, 89, 4; *LIMC* VI,1 Kirke 43 (F. Canciani); Moltesen/Nielsen 1996, 100-103, no 32.

Ulysses murders the suitors

One Chiusine urn relief can be identified as Ulysses murdering the suitors in his palace. Conform to the Homeric version (*Od*. 22, 92) Ulysses attacks the suitors with bow and arrow (P 1), his son Telemachus (P 2) with a lance. Three naked or semi naked suitors are already kneeling on the ground. The middle victim seems to be dead. A fourth suitor is defending himself with a *trapeza* (cf. an Apulian red figured calyx crater, Basel, coll. Cahn HC 272: *LIMC* VI,1 Mnesteres II 11 (O. Touchefeu-Meynier)) although the object looks like a stone. Next to him is probably a servant. A female servant takes refuge near a small cult statue. Behind this statue stands another suitor.

130. (*fig. 11*)
Chiusi, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 63017 (529) (ex coll. Paolozzi, Chiusi) (chest); Chiusi, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 63016 (lid)
Chiusi, tomb of the Marcni
250-225 BC
Chest: 78 x 53 x 40; depth of relief: 5
Lid: 74 x 40 x 40
Male lid figure with female head (it is doubtful whether the lid belongs to the chest)
ET Cl 1.1113: *au marcni au*; *CIE* 2430: *au m[ar]cni au* (lid); height: 2; type II

BK I, 98, 7; Thimme 1957, 146-147, no 2, fig. 21; *LIMC* VI,1 Mnesteres II 21 (O. Touchefeu-Meynier).

Fig. 11. Cat. no 130 (photo author).

Problematic interpretation

131.
On this urn relief the scheme of Meleager and Atalanta is used: a man striking with a javelin on the left, a woman lashing out with an axe on the right, a tree in the centre and two figures as fillers. The boar and the dogs are here replaced by a kneeling man, maybe Myrtilus.

Berlin, Staatliche Museen Sk. 1279-1280
Chiusi
250-225 BC
Chest: 62 x 45 x 26
Lid: 61 x 30
Female lid figure holds a piece of fruit
Short sides: amphora *in bacellatura*

BK II, 116, 1; Rumpf 1928, 32, E 55-56, pl. 39-40; Schade/Kunze 1988, 316-317, D 5.9.

132.
A man attacks a woman on a *kline* with a sword. A servant kneels in front of the bed. A woman behind the bed raises her hand in despair. A warrior stands at either side of the scene. A dead man seen from the back lies between the legs of the right warrior. The scene could possibly be interpreted as Menelaus threatening Helen, as Tydeus and Ismene, or as Alcmaeon murdering his mother.

Berlin, Staatliche Museen Sk. 1285
Chiusi
250-225 BC
Chest: 82 x 51

BK II, 1, 8a; Rumpf 1928, 29, E 43, pl. 33; *LIMC* I,1 Alkmaion 16 (I. Krauskopf); Small 1981, no 19, pl. 11 a; Schade/Kunze 1988, 315-316, fig. D 5.6.

133.
A semi-draped figure (male or female) with his/her arms extended stands in the centre of the composition. The figure is surrounded by other semi-draped and naked characters in a seated position, among which two satyrs and a sleeping woman. In front of the sleeping female coils a snake. Although the central character recalls Andromeda chained to the rock, as is usual in the iconographical tradition, here Bacchus saving Ariadne seems a preferable interpretation. The satyrs and the beasts on the short sides point to a Dionysiac context.

Berlin, Staatliche Museen Sk. 1287
Chiusi
250-225 BC
Chest: 66 x 46 x 29
Short sides: boar (right) and lion (left) jumping out of a cave

BK III, 242-245, fig. 59; Rumpf 1928, 28, E 39, pl. 30; *LIMC* I,1 Andromeda 146 (K. Schauenburg); *LIMC* III,1 Dionysos/Fufluns 55 (M. Cristofani); Schade/Kunze 1988, 316, D 5.8.

134.
A female demon (?) with naked breasts and a cross belt sits on an altar and embraces a naked youth. In front of the altar another boy sits on the ground holding his hand before his eyes in despair. A man wearing the same headdress as the two boys sits at the right side of the altar. Unlike them he is clothed. Two men with bow and arrow approach the scene, one from the left the other from the right. The scene recalls the theme of Ulysses murdering the suitors, the man on the right could be Ulysses (beard, hat), and the figure on the left Telemachus. In that case the woman has to be interpreted as Penelope, the naked youths as suitors. Another possible interpretation of the scene is that of the life of Paris: first as exposed boy (sitting on the ground), then as a young man reconciled with Cassandra after winning the games, finally as an adult fighting the Greeks represented by Ulysses. The sitting figure next to the altar could possibly be interpreted as Helen.

Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek H.296 (H.I.N. 59) (ex coll. Terrosi, Cetona)
Le Cardetelle (between Cetona and Chiusi), tomb of the Vetana
250-225 BC
Chest: 85 x 56 x 36
Lid: 100 x 55 x 34
Male lid figure holding a *kantharos*. On his head a *corona civica*. An animal skin has been painted on the mattress
Traces of paint: polychromy is well preserved on both lid and urn: black: eyebrows and pupils of the lid figure, one of the ringstones; gilded: wreath and garland of the lid figure, hair of all persons, *chlamys* of P 1, axe and many details of the jewellery and clothings of P 4, bow and *clamys* of P 6; greenish: altar; pink: flowers in the wreath and the cross stripes of the garland of the lid figure; red: one ringstone; gold: rings
ET Cl. 1.321: *{a}aule: vetana*; *CIE* 1419: *aule: vetana* (chest); type II
BK I, 98, 8; *LIMC* I,1 Amazones Etruscae 17a (E. Mavleev); Bruschetti 1993, 439 and n. 3; Moltesen/Nielsen 1996, 95-99, no 31 (160-140 BC); Steuernagel 1998, no. 301, pl. 50,1 (200-150 BC) ; Nielsen 1999, 278-279.

135.
A woman, maybe Canace, lying on a kline commits suicide by stabbing herself with a sword. A female death demon stands behind the woman. On the left side of the bed a youth with a sword (her brother and lover Macareus?) watches the scene. On the right a bearded man (her father Aeolus) turns away. The suicide theme is very rare in the Chiusine urn production.

Marseille, Musée Borély 1647
Chiusi
250-225 BC
Chest: 80 x 58
Male lid figure, semi-draped, wearing a garland, holding a *patera umbilicata* of the 'Calenian' type
ET Cl 1.2455: *vel. tite. apice. śamre*; *CIE* 2888: *vel. tite. apice. satnal* (chest); mixture type II 3rd-2nd cent. BC

Le monde étrusque 1977-1978, 45, no 16; Denoyelle 1995, 98, fig. 3.

136.
A semi-naked man coming from the right fights using a plough. On the left are a warrior with a Phrygian hat who is defending himself with a sword, a kneeling warrior with sword and shield, and in the background another warrior holding a shield. Behind the assailant, on the right side, is another warrior holding a shield. The scheme was used in many late Chiusine terracotta urns, but only one example made of stone is known. The assailant could be interpreted as Echetlus or some other hero.

Siena, Museo Archeologico 68108 (727, 78) (ex Palazzo Bargagli, Sarteano)
Sarteano, Pod. 'Le Tombe', tomb of Seiante Vilia
250-225 BC
Chest: 85 x min. 54 x 45; depth of relief: 5
Lid: 87 x 59 x 46
Male lid figure, semi-draped, wearing a garland, holding a *patera umbilicata* of the 'Calenian' type
ET Cl 1.334: *vel: sentinate: arnthalisa*; *CIE* 1513: *vl: sentinate: arnthalisa* (chest); type II, 3rd cent. BC

BK III, 6, 5; Thimme 1957, 154, no 7, fig. 28; *LIMC* III,1 Echetlos 2 (J.G. Szilágyi); Domenici 2001, passim.

Murder on altar - series

Four urns show a man being murdered on an altar (Neoptolemos?). On the left his assailant, holding a sword in one hand, grabs his victim's hair Also present are some attendants to the assailant, and on cat. no 140 on both left and right a Vanth, leaning on an inverted torch is added to the scene. It remains unclear whether the scene is mythological or not.

137.
Chiusi, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 236
Chiusi (lid from the tomb of the Cumni)
250-225 BC
Chest: 52 x 39 x 26
Female lid figure
ET Cl 1.1849; *CIE* 2041: *puia: cumniś: thucernaś* (lid); height: 3; type II, 3rd cent. BC

BK II, 82, 1; Thimme 1957, 158-159, no 12, fig. 30; Steuernagel 1998, 56-57, no 82 (225-175 BC); Maggiani 2000, 11, fig. 4 (end of the 3rd cent. BC).

138.
Chiusi, Museo Archeologico Nazionale
Chiusi
225-200 BC
Chest: 50 x 35 x 26

BK II, 87, 3; Steuernagel 1998, 56-57, no 84, pl. 19,2 (175-125 BC).

139.
Florence, Museo Archeologico 75509
Città della Pieve
225-200 BC
Chest: 70 x 48 x 35
Short sides: dying warrior, whose eye is being pecked at by a bird

BK II, 82, 2a, fig. 192; Steingräber 1982, 111, pl. 5, 1; Steuernagel 1998, 56-57, no 81 (225-175 BC); Maggiani 2000, 9, fig. 1 (end of the 3rd cent. BC).

140. PT
Palermo, Museo Regionale Salinas N.I. 8456 (47) (ex coll. Casuccini, Chiusi)
Chiusi
250-225 BC
Chest: 86 x 54 x 45
Lid: 88 x 43 (head is missing) x 44
Male lid figure, semi-draped, holding a *patera umbilicata* of the 'Calenian' type
Traces of paint: red: inscription
lusa (lid)

BK II, 82, 2; Steuernagel 1998, 56-57, no 83, pl. 19,1 (200-150 BC).

140bis.[16]
Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology MS 2458A, B
Chiusi, Il Colle (?)
250-225 BC
Chest: length: 62
Male lid figure, semi-draped, holding a *patera umbilicata*
ET Cl 1.166; *CIE* 1192: *arnth: remzna: arnthal: arnthal: zilat[:]ścuntnueś*

White et al. 2002, 38, no 56 (3rd-2nd centuries BC).

Appendix I: non-mythological themes (Selection)

Cacu and the Vibenna brothers

One example of the scheme of Cacu and the Vibenna brothers differs from the scheme of Orestes and Pylades in Tauris mainly in the centre right figure, which in the case of Cacu holds a *kithara* (cat. no 141). The woman leaning on a pillar (Iphigenia in the Orestes and Pylades scheme) is present, just as the horse and the approaching enemy (one of the Vibenna brothers). The male on the left sits on a small elevasion instead of on an altar. In other examples the woman is left out of the scheme that now is expanded with several fighting and kneeling warriors. The reliefs differ in style and composition.

141.
Berlin, Staatliche Museen Sk. 1281
Chiusi
250-200 BC
Chest: 51 x 39

BK I, 85, 3; Rumpf 1928, 31, E 51, pl. 38; Pairault 1972, 143, pl. 90 (Orestes and Pylades in Tauris); Schade/Kunze 1988, 316, D 5.7.

142. (*fig. 12*)
Chiusi, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 63584
Chiusi, tomba della Pellegrina
250-225 BC
Chest: 58 x 44 x 28; depth of relief: 4
Lid: 61 x 38 x 32
Male lid figure semi-draped, wearing a garland (chest and present lid seem to belong together)
ET Cl 1.79: *cae: sentinate larthal cuthna(l)* (lid); type II, 2nd cent. BC

Fig. 12. Cat. no 142 (photo author).

Maggiani 1990, 210-216, fig. 18, 3, no 3, pl. 4,5 (ca 210 BC); Colonna 1993, 363 (250-200 BC).

143.
Florence, Museo Archeologico 5801
Chiusi
250-225 BC
Chest: 98 x 60 x 53; depth of relief: 4
Short sides: winged demon holding a mallet (left), winged demon leaning on a turned torch (right)
Traces of paint: black: eyes of persons

BK II, 119, 2.

144.
Florence, Museo Archeologico 74233
Città della Pieve, tomb of the Purni
250-225 BC
Chest: 92 x 58 x 45
Lid: 88 x 45 (head is missing) x 43
Male lid figure, semi-draped, wearing a garland, holding a *patera umbilicata* of the 'Calenian' type (son of Florence Museo Archeologico 74232; cat. no 150)
Short sides: winged demon with torch and snake in a framework (left), Scylla with torch in a framework (right)
ET Cl 1.653; *CIE* 1345: *arnth: purni: curcesa* (chest); type II, 3rd cent. BC

BK II, 119, 1a; Thimme 1957, 122, no 3 (ca 125 BC).

145.
Siena, Museo Archeologico 68072 (734, 41) (ex Palazzo Bargagli, Sarteano)
Sarteano, pod. 'Le Tombe'
250-225 BC
Chest: 96 x 66 x 43
Lid: 97 x 42 (head is missing) x 47
Female lid figure

BK II, 119, 1.

Celtomachy (selection)

Although the schemes differ, the most important element is the horseman attacking his enemy (Celt) who kneels on the ground in front of the horse's legs.

146.
Chiusi, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 63003
Montepulciano
250-225 BC
Chest: 85 x 55 x 42
Lid: 90 x 48 x 33
Male lid figure, semi-draped, wearing a garland, holding a *patera umbilicata* of the 'Calenian' type, headgear of a haruspex (it is doubtful whether the lid belongs to the chest)
ET Cl 1.31; *CIE* 1279: *thana sentinati* (chest) type II, combination of 3rd-2nd cent. BC

Unpublished.

147.
Chiusi, tomba della Pellegrina
Chiusi, tomba della Pellegrina
250-225 BC
Chest: 86 x 57 x 40
Male lid figure, semi-draped, wearing a garland
Short sides: winged Scylla in a framework holding an oar
ET Cl 1.81: *aule seiante larthal* (lid); type IB, 3rd cent. BC

Maggiani 1990, 211, 213-216, fig. 19,4, pl. 4,4, no 4 (ca 230 BC).

148.
Chiusi, tomba della Pellegrina
Chiusi, tomba della Pellegrina
225-200 BC
Chest: 79 x 58 x 30
Male lid figure, semi-draped, wearing a garland, holding a *patera umbilicata* of the 'Calenian' type

Short sides: winged Scylla in framework holding a torch
ET Cl 1.82: *larth seiant(..)* (lid); type II, 2nd cent. BC
Maggiani 1990, 210-212, 214-215, fig. 19,5, pl. 4,4, no 5 (ca 220 BC).

149.
Florence, Museo Archeologico 5797 (chest); 5803 (lid)
Chiusi, Scavi Società Colombaria
250-225 BC
Chest: 58 x 50 x 28
Male lid figure holding a *patera umbilicata*

BK III, 116, 4; Höckmann 1991, no 9, pl. 49, 1.

150.
Florence, Museo Archeologico 74232
Città della Pieve
250-225 BC
Chest: 84 x 58 x 40
Lid: 83 x 46 x 43
Male lid figure holding a *patera umbilicata* of the 'Calenian' type (father of Florence 74233 cat. no 144)
Short sides: dying warrior, whose eye is being pecked at by a bird
ET Cl 1.661; *CIE* 1638: *larth: purni: curce* (lid); type II, mixture 3rd-2nd cent. BC

Tarchi 1936, pl. 70.

Celts plundering a sanctuary (?)

Celts running away from a sanctuary with objects.

151.
Florence, Museo Archeologico 81692
Chiusi
250-225 BC
Chest: 55 x 44 x 30
Female lid figure in usual drapery and girdle under the breasts

BK III, 114, 3, fig. 24; Höckmann 1991, no 2, pl. 45, 1 (ca 150 BC).

Appendix II: sarcophagi (scenes of Celts and Troilus)

Celtomachy

152.
Chiusi, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 62894/5 (752)
Chiusi, Il Colle
250-225 BC
Chest: 204 x 56 x 52
Male lid figure holding a *patera umbilicata* (head does not belong to the lid)
Short sides: right: Celt with javelin on a *biga* moving to the right
ET Cl 1.164; *CIE* 1190: *laris. sentinate. larcna*; height: 3.5-5; type IB, 3rd cent. BC

BK III, 118, 8 and 8a; Herbig 1952, no 14; Thimme 1954, 30 n. 6; 1957, 110 n. 15; Goethert 1974, 129; Höckmann 1991, no 7, pl. 48, 1-2 (200-150 BC); Colonna 1993, 351-353 n. 71; Van der Meer 2001, 84, H14; 2004, 127, H14 (250-230 BC).

153.
Chiusi, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 63024 (973)
Chiusi
250-225 BC
Chest: 188 x 51 x 54
Female lid figure in usual drapery wearing a necklace with *bullae*, holding a *patera*

Herbig 1952, no 12; Colonna 1993, 346 n. 50 (260-250 BC); Van der Meer 2001, 83, H12; 2004, 127, H12 (260-250 BC).

154.
Florence, Museo Archeologico 77977
Chiusi
225-200 BC
Chest: 217 x 64 x 61
Male lid figure, semi-draped, wearing a garland, holding a *patera umbilicata*

BK III, 155-157, fig. 28; Herbig 1952, no 19; Goethert 1974, 229, 231, 233 (140-100 BC); Maggiani 1985, 119, no 8 (250-240 BC) (A. Maggiani); Höckmann 1991, no 8, pl. 47, 2 (140-100 BC); Colonna 1993, 355 n. 91; Steuernagel 1998, 95-96, 216, no 293 (200-150 BC); Van der Meer 2001, 84, H19; 2004, 128, H19 (225-200 BC).

Celts plundering a sanctuary (?)

155.
Chiusi, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 2272
Chiusi (Sarteano, according to Maggiani)
250-225 BC
Chest: 189 x 55 x 57

BK II, 88, 1; Herbig 1952, no 13; Maggiani 1985, 119, n. 7 (c. 250-240 BC) (A. Maggiani); Colonna 1993, 354 no 90 (225-200 BC); Steuernagel 1998, 111-112, 217, no 305 (225-175 BC); Van der Meer 2001, 83-84, H13; 2004, 127, H13 (225-200 BC).

156.
Palermo, Museo Regionale Salinas N.I. 8470
Chiusi
250-225 BC
Chest: 190 x 64 x 55
Short sides: centaur

BK II, 88, 2; Herbig 1952, no 78; Colonna 1993, 351 n. 72; Steuernagel 1998, 101, 217, no 304, pl. 49,3 (225-175 BC); Van der Meer 2001, 87, H78; 2004, 136, H78 (225-175 BC).

Troilus

157.
Palermo, Museo Regionale Salinas N.I. 8463 (88) (chest); Palermo, Museo Regionale Salinas 37 (lid)
Chiusi
225-200 BC
Chest: 224 x 67 x 63
Male lid figure
ET Cl 1.1261; *CIE* 1760: *vel: arntni: velusa: [--]a-[*

BK I, 54, 13; Herbig 1952, no 77; Colonna 1991, 123; 1993, 354, n. 87; *LIMC* I,1 Achle 34 (G. Camporeale); Van der Meer 2001, 87, H77; 2004, 135-136, H77 (225-200 BC).

158.
(Troilus?)
Paris, Musée du Louvre M.A. 2350 (MND 2316)
Chiusi
250-225 BC
Chest: 186 x 53 x 60
Lid: 186 x 49 x 57
Female lid figure in the usual drapery, wearing bracelets, a necklace with bullae, a cross-belt and circular buckle
ET Cl 1.2256; *CIE* 2768: *th[ania:] sentinati: cumer[unia: v]elsisa*; type IB, 3rd cent. BC

Briguet 1993, 327-335, pl. 1-4 (130-100 BC); Colonna 1993, 374 no 21, pl. 20 (225-200 BC); REE 59 (1994) no 34, pl. 50, 34; Van der Meer 2001, 93 G5; 2004, 156, G5 (225-200 BC).

Notes

[1] This article could not have been written without the kind co-operation of the following archaeological museums: Chianciano Terme, Chiusi, Cortona, Florence, Grosseto, London, Palermo, and Siena.
Furthermore I would like to thank the Dutch Institute and the German Archaeological Institute in Rome, and the Dutch Institute of Art History in Florence for their hospitality. Last but not least I owe a great debt of gratitude to Dr. L.B. van der Meer who supported me during the research with his enormous knowledge and enthusiasm.
[2] The material concerned is not the alabaster known from the Volterran urns, but a less transparent one. The terminology used in the different publications is confusing. M.F. Briguet proposes that archaeologists and geologists should research together in order to determine the correct name for the type of stone (Briguet 1993, 328 n. 4).
[3] The *patera umbilicata* frequently used is a type with rosette relief which resembles the so-called Calenian *paterae* made from 250 BC onwards.
[4] Stevens 2001, passim.
[5] Stevens 2001, 101-102, fig. 1.
[6] Stevens 2001, 102.
[7] Stevens 2001, 102.
[8] Stevens 2001, 103.
[9] Stevens 2001, 103.
[10] The mass-produced terracotta urns will not be accounted for in the present paper. Urns with non-mythological themes and a few sarcophagi are dealt with only when supporting my theories leading to a chronological proposal (see also: appendix I-II).
[11] Maggiani 1990, passim.
[12] The only exceptions are the scene of Achilles and Aias with the decapitated head of Troilus and the scene of Eteocles and Polyneices after their duel, where the twins lie lifeless (dead or dying?) in the arms of friends (cat. nos 51-63, *fig. 4*).
[13] In the scheme of Iphigenia in Aulis, Artemis is present, but the artisans in Volterra changed the goddess into a winged demon.
[14] Aristotle, *Poetics* 53b14-37.
[15] BK I, 74, 1-2, 75, 3; Pairault 1972, 150.
[16] I am very grateful to Dr. J. MacIntosh Turfa who brought this urn to my notice and who provided information on it.

I: Museum

Inv. no	cat. no
Berlin, Staatliche Museen	
Sk. 127	90
Sk. 1279-1280	131
Sk. 1981	141
Sk. 1283-1284	51
Sk. 1285	132
Sk. 1287	133
Bologna, M.C.A.	
IT 1275	80
Cetona, private collection	
no inv. no	120
Chianciano Terme, Museo Civico Archeologico delle Acque di Chianciano Terme	
73727	1
no inv. no	101
Chicago, Field Museum	
26120	2
Chiusi, Museo Archeologico Nazionale	
30 (303)	19
37 (1013 A	115
72	36
215 (63012)	116
234 (63021)	20
236	137
303 (30)	19
465	97
466	52
526 (63015)	67
529 (63017)	130
563 (62473)	65
667 bis (63018)	4
752 (62894/5)	152
P 889	53
892	91
948 A (63019)	123
950	28
951	97
952 (63007)	109
954	121
955	79
964 (63009)	122
968	98
973 (63024)	153
975 (63010)	66
984	29
986	3
1013 A (37)	115
1014 A (284599)	102
1053	30
2272	155
62473 (563)	65
62894/5 (752)	152
63003	146
63007 (952)	109
63009 (964)	122
63010 (975)	66
63012 (215)	116
63015 (526)	67
63016	130
63017 (529)	130
63018 (667 bis)	4
63019 (948 A)	123
63021 (234)	20
63024 (973)	153
63584	142
284599 (1014 A)	102
no inv. no	138
Chiusi, private collection Galeotti	
no inv. no	37
Chiusi, tomba della Barcaccia II	
no inv. no	110
Chiusi, tomba della Pellegrina	
no inv. no	5
no inv. no	6
no inv. no	68
no inv. no	147
no inv. no	148
Chiusi, tomba di Poggio al Moro	
no inv. no	21
no inv. no	92
Copenhagen, Nat. Mus.	
3844	93
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek	
H.296 (H.I.N. 59)	134
H.297 (H.I.N. 60)	54
H.298 (H.I.N. 61)	103
H.299 (H.I.N. 62)	129
H.300 (H.I.N. 63)	31
Cortona, Mus. dell'Accademia Etrusca	
36 (E 1906 AM)	124
1001	7
E 1906 AM (36)	124
E 1021 A	32
no inv. no	38
Florence, Museo Archeologico	
63 (465, 5713)	56
91 (5767)	22
92 (74625)	18
93 (5771)	99
94 (5770)	9
98 (5777)	104
465 (63, 5713)	56
542 (5712)	55
543 (5647)	69
5647 (543)	69
5649	81
5651	94
5712 (542)	55
5713 (465; 63)	56
5756	8
5767 (91)	22
5770 (94)	9
5771 (93)	99
5776	69
5777 (98)	104
5797	149
5801	143
5803	149
74232	150
74233	144
74625 (92)	18
75509	139
77977	154
81692	151
89196	111
Florence, private collection Giglio	
no inv no.	70
Florence, villa (ex Casamorata) Rossi	
no inv. no.	82
Grosseto, Museo Archeologico e d'Arte della Maremma	
1981	95
1982	83
1984	83
1985	95
1987	23
1988	64
3726	39
London, British Museum	
D 36-37	125
D 38-39	24
D 40-41	57
D 42-43	71
D 44-45	72
Manchester Museum	
29949a-b	105
Marseille, Musée Bórely	
1647	135
Montepulciano, Palazzo Bucelli	
no inv. no.	9
no inv. no.	10
no inv. no.	11
no inv. no.	33
no inv. no	34

Munich, Antiquarium
607 35

New York University Collection
no inv. no 106

Palermo, Museo Regionale Salinas (ex coll. Casuccini, Chiusi)
25 (N.I. 8461) 12
33 (N.I. 11257) 118
35 (N.I. 8477) 112
41 84
42 73
43 25
47 (N.I. 8456) 140
49 (N.I. 11778) 60
53 (N.I. 8452) 45
55 85
57 (N.I. 8474) 59
58 40
59 (N.I. 8473) 47
62 41
64 42
66 43
67 86
68 44
69 58
N.I. 8452 (53) 45
N.I. 8456 (47) 140
N.I. 8459 46
N.I. 8461 (25) 12
N.I. 8463 157
N.I. 8470 156
N.I. 8473 (59) 47
N.I. 8474 (57) 59
N.I. 8477 (32) 112
N.I. 11257 (33) 118
N.I. 11778 (49) 60
? 126

Paris, Musée du Louvre
2350 (MND 2316) 158
S 3887, MA 2351 13
S 3888, MA 2352 159
S 3889, MA 2358 14

Perugia, Museo
no inv. no 87

Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology
MS 2458A, B 140bis

Rome, Vatican, garden of Pigna
no inv. no 88

Rome, Vatican, Mus. Greg. Etr.
19016 61

Sarteano, Palazzo Bargagli
no inv. no 74

Siena, Museo Archeologico
36 (739) 128
41 (734, 68072) 145
78 (727, 68108) 136
79 (730) 107
81 (729, 68111) 25
84 (731) 62
87 (732) 113
637 119
721 127
727 (78, 68108) 136
728 75
729 (81; 68111) 25
730 (79) 107
731 (84) 62
732 (87) 113
734 (41; 68072) 145
737 118
739 (36) 128
68072 (734, 41) 145
68108 (727, 78) 136
68111 (729, 81) 25

Sydney University Museum, coll. Ch. Nicholson
no inv. no 120

Disappeared
- 15
- 16
- 17
- 27
- 48
- 49
- 50
- 63
- 76
- 77
- 78
- 89
- 96
- 100
- 108
- 114
- 117

II: Inscription

ET no cat. no
Cl 1.29 69
Cl 1.31 146
Cl 1.32 66
Cl 1.78 5
Cl 1.79 142
Cl 1.81 147
Cl 1.82 148
Cl 1.91 6
Cl 1.145 12
Cl 1.152 95
Cl 1.154 23
Cl 1.164 152
Cl 1.166 140bis
Cl 1.174 37
Cl 1.183 104
Cl 1.200 63
Cl 1.203 111
Cl 1.204 114
Cl 1.206 117
Cl 1.233 97
Cl 1.321 134
Cl 1.322 129
Cl 1.325 106
Cl 1.326 62
Cl 1.327 26
Cl 1.334 136
Cl 1.362 57
Cl 1.365 70
Cl 1.366 120
Cl 1.408 61
Cl 1.653 144
Cl 1.654 103
Cl 1.659 18
Cl 1.661 150
Cl 1.664 93
Cl 1.665 54
Cl 1.800 80
Cl 1.876 128
Cl 1.978 1
Cl 1.979 101
Cl 1.1113 130
Cl 1.1114 67
Cl 1.1116 116
Cl 1.1117 4
Cl 1.1261 157
Cl 1.1273 112
Cl 1.1357 29
Cl 1.1637 19
Cl 1.1784 125
Cl 1.1848 20
Cl 1.1849 137
Cl 1.1887 94
Cl 1.1893 71
Cl 1.2139 72
Cl 1.2256 158
Cl 1.2309 118
Cl 1.2402 46
Cl 1.2455 135
Cl 1.2569 91
Cl 1.2683 65
Vt 1.158 13

CIE no. cat. no
162 13
488 66
906 91
1174 12
1175 23
1180 95
1190 152
1192 140bis
1198 37

1219	35
1260	63
1263	111
1264	114
1266	117
1277	69
1279	146
1320	97
1345	144
1346	103
1351	18
1376	104
1419	134
1420	129
1423	107
1424	62
1425	26
1446	57
1449	70
1450	120
1466	128
1513	136
1556	80
1638	150
1760	157
1773	112
1848	29
2040	20
2041	137
2192	19
2267	125
2367	94
2372	71
2430	130
2431	67
2433	116
2434	4
2602	72
2673	118
2768	158
2831	46
2888	135
3156	65
4674	61
4907	93

III: BK

BK no	cat. no
I, 15. 32	112
I, 16, 33	109
I, 16, 34	113
I, 47, 26	79
I, 50, 5	125
I, 52, 9	124
I, 52, 10	121
I, 53, 11	126
I, 53, 12	122
I, 54, 13	157
I, 54, 14	12
I, 54, 14a	10
I, 61, 27	8
I, 62, 30	7
I, 63, 31	15
I, 63, 32	9
I, 64, 33	16
I, 64, 34	11
I, 65, 35	17
I, 65, 36	4
I, 77, 4	26
I, 77, 4a	25
I, 77, 5	21
I, 78, 6	24
I, 78, 7	20
I, 78, 7a	27
I, 79, 8	23
I, 79, 9	22
I, 81, 12	100
I, 82, 14	99
I, 82, 15	97
I, 84, 1	104
I, 84, 2	107
I, 84, 2a	103
I, 85, 3	141
I, 85, 4	18
I, 89, 4	129
I, 98, 7	130
I, 98, 8	134
II, 1, 8a	132
II, 1A, 2	64
II, 2, 1	19
II, 10, 4	32
II, 10, 4a	33
II, 10, 4b	34
II, 10, 5	28
II, 11, 2	39
II, 11, 2a	48
II, 11, 2b	36
II, 11, 2c	40
II, 11, 2d	44
II, 11, 2e	42
II, 11, 2f	41
II, 11, 2g	45
II, 11, 2h	49
II, 11, 3	47
II, 12, 4	46
II, 12, 5	38
II, 13, 1	59
II, 13, 1a	55
II, 13, 1b	58
II, 13, 1c	52
II, 13, 2	56
II, 13, 2a	63
II, 15, 1	60
II, 15, 2	57
II, 15, 3	51
II, 16, 4	62
II, 17, 1	61
II, 23, 6	115
II, 23, 7	117
II, 24, 8	116
II, 24, 9	118
II, ad 24, 9a	119
II, 33, 1	70
II, 33, 2	73
II, 33, 2a	76
II, 34, 3	75
II, 34, 3a	77
II, 34, 4	67
II, 34, 4a	66
II, 35, 5	65
II, 35, 5a	69
II, 35, 5c	78
II, 35, 5d	74
II, 36, 6 (upper draw.)	72
II, 36, 6 (lower draw.)	29
II, 45, 10	94
II, 45, 11	95
II, 46, 12	91
II, 46, 12a	96
II, 46, 12b	90
II, 57, 3	89
II, 57, 3a	82
II, 57, 3b	85
II, 57, 3c	86
II, 57, 3d	81
II, 58, 4	83
II, 58, 4a	88
II, 58, 4b	87
II, 58, 5	84
II, 78, 7	102
II, 78, 8	108
II, 78, 8a	106
II, 79, 1	13
II, 82, 1	137
II, 82, 2	140
II, 82, 2a	139
II, 86, 1	159
II, 87, 3	138
II, 88, 1	155
II, 88, 2	156
II, 93, 1	120
II, 116, 1	131
II, 119, 1	145
II, 116, 1a	93
II, 119, 2	143
II, 119, 1a	144
II, 261-262	31
II, 264	54
III, 6, 5	136
III, 8-8a	152
III, 36, 6a	30
III, 114, 3 fig. 24	151
III, 116, 4	149
III, 124, 3	35
III, 155-157, fig. 28	154
III, 190a	3
III, 234, 16, 33a	111
III, 234-235, 16, 34a	114
III, 236, 15b	127
III, 242-245, fig. 59	133
III, 246, 20, 4c	80

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Monumental Architecture in Hellenistic and Julio-Claudian Pessinus

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Abstract

*During the first two decades of the Ghent excavations, it was thought that the area of the Tiberian sanctuary in Pessinus had been of little importance in Hellenistic times. It is probably true that the Hellenistic sanctuary of Cybele, as bequeathed by the Attalids of Pergamum, should not be identified with any of the structures found in the temple area. However, excavations have increasingly shown that the priests of Cybele may well have been involved in major building projects during the Hellenistic period in this particular part of Pessinus. Subsequently, the dawn of the Roman provincial era did not only witness a new sanctuary, it also brought along a very unambiguous urbanistic approach. With respect to the known history of the city, one may discern important symbols of and shifts in power in the genesis and destruction of these buildings.**

Introduction

The city of Pessinus, the esteemed centre of the cult of Cybele which was ruled by the *Galloi*, the eunuch priests of the Goddess, by at least the 3rd century BC, was correctly linked to the village of Ballıhisar by Charles Texier in 1834. In Ottoman times, the small hamlet Ballıhisar developed in the upper part of a tributary valley of the Sangarius, roughly 120 km SW of Ankara.[1]

The digs by Ghent University started in 1967 and have mainly focused on the main centre of archaeological interest in Ballıhisar as excavated, namely the 'temple zone' (sectors B and H) in the south of the village, partly on a slope which is directly east of the Gallos riverbed (*fig. 1*).[2] In this sector, and listed from east to west, the following alignment of key structures has been revealed: a circuit of bulky Hellenistic walls on a natural promontory overlooking the Gallos valley; a Roman peripteral temple, enclosed by a temenos wall and largely cutting through the mentioned Hellenistic structures; a theatre cavea in the axis of the temple, simultaneously serving as its monumental approach; and, finally, a colonnaded square which was partially implanted in the river terrace (*fig. 2*).

The history of the sanctuary area has partly been elucidated by M. Waelkens (1986). However, when we turn to the structures of the Hellenistic period, the picture becomes somewhat incomplete.[3] It is my objective to shed some light on the genesis and obliteration of these lesser known Hellenistic structures that were studied in the temple area from the 1990s onwards. In examining the nature of these buildings, it will be necessary to comment on their transition into the Julio-Claudian period. For interpretation, I will sometimes move beyond archaeology into the field of history, and examine how historically attested shifts in political power could have been reflected in the erection and destruction of what are clearly focal buildings. As P. Zanker (1990) and, more recently, L. Revell (2009) have excellently pointed out, the architectural outline of a Roman city was more than a functional, urbanistic framework for its inhabitants and their tasks; in essence it constituted an ideological paradigm.

Pessinus in the 3rd century BC

Strabo and the Attalid sanctuary of Cybele in Pessinus
A new theoretical approach on its date of origin

The first issue to address is that of the origin of the sanctuary of Cybele, built by the Attalids in Pessinus. Although there is some debate, J. Devreker attributes a status of absolute sovereignty to the clerical oligarchy of Pessinus.[4] Until the final absorption of the temple state into the Roman province of Galatia in 25 BC, the priests of Cybele were said to have been self-ruling and friendly with the Attalids of Pergamum. Indeed, on condition that we accept the ancient testimonies on the subject of Pessinus as true, in Roman times the city may well have boasted a prestigious past of which the origins lay in the reign of King Midas (Diodorus Siculus 3.59.8).[5] Moreover, Strabo (12.5.3) asserts that Pessinus was (still) the greatest commercial centre in those parts of the known world

(‘Πεσινοῦς δ’ ἐστὶν ἐμπόριον τῶν ταύτη μέγιστου’) and that in ancient times the priests had been potentates (‘δυνάσται’).

By the 3rd century BC at the latest, a powerful clerical oligarchy, consisting of *Galloi*, were in control of the city and its *chora*.[6] It is important to keep in mind for our further discourse that it was precisely around this time that Anatolia had been engulfed by hords of Gallic tribes.[7] It is widely agreed that the settlement of the Gauls in the area did not impinge upon the independence of Pessinus’ oligarchic rulership.[8] Because of this it can be reasonably assumed that the prestige of the Pessinuntian cult of Meter had kept the city out of harm.[9]

Strabo (12.5.3) comments that the Attalids had erected a sanctuary (‘τέμενος’) for the Mother Goddess alongside a white marble portico (‘στοαῖς λευκολίθοις’). Unfortunately, the author failed to mention which Pergamene king had been the initiator. The Attalids may have envisioned a stronghold over a region which was menaced and populated by enemies of the newly formed Pergamene state, specifically the Gauls and, of course, the Seleucid kingdom. This could have been partly achieved by building a sanctuary in Pessinus. Philetaerus (282-262 BC) had already demonstrated how monumentalizing the cult of Cybele increased political power. By building the mountain sanctuary for Cybele near Pergamum, in Aspordenos (Mamurt Kale in modern Yund dağı), he ensured the benevolence of the local populace.[10]

Pergamum seems to have gained some influence over Pessinus by the end of the 3rd century BC. In 205/204 BC, after the Sibylline Books predicted

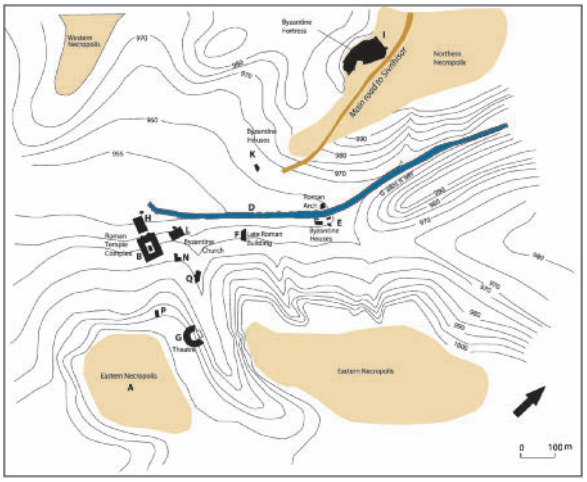

Fig. 1. An overview of the excavation zones in Ballıhisar (map from Pessinus Archive).

that the coming of the image of Cybele would ensure victory over Hannibal, Rome sent out an embassy to retrieve the sacred stone of the Mother Goddess from Pessinus.[11] As stated by Livy (10.4-11.18), Attalus I Soter (241-197 BC) served as a mediator between Rome and Pessinus and personally escorted the Roman delegation to the Galatian city.[12] Devreker proposed that Pessinus was bequeathed with the Attalid sanctuary as a reimbursement for ‘losing’ the sacred stone to Rome.[13] Another interpretation is offered by L. Boffo, who suggested that the erection of the sanctuary may only have occurred after 183 BC, when Galatia was subject to Pergamene rule.[14]

A 2nd century date for the erection of the Attalid sanctuary in Pessinus seems somewhat unsatis-

Fig. 2. Panoramic view of the temple excavation area (Ballıhisar) with reconstructed temple as seen from the Mosque Minaret, north of the dig area (photographic montage and reconstruction by author).

Fig. 3. View of the east side of the colonnaded square (H1+H2). Note the 'ridge' (photo author).

factory, however. In all likelihood, an important event preceded the circumstances in which Attalus I was capable of acting as an arbiter. Accordingly, it is reasonable to assume a 3rd century date for the building of the Attalid sanctuary, allowing 205/204 BC as a *terminus ante quem*. Conceivably, the centre of the Hellenistic Pessinuntian cult may have been erected as early as during the reign of Philetaerus, the monarch who built the first Greek style temple of Cybele in Aspordenos.[15] Indeed, the young Attalid kingdom was in dire need of an iconic image to serve its propagandistic needs.[16] Pessinus might therefore have been bequeathed with a new sanctuary a great deal sooner than the first half of the 2nd century BC, as is commonly believed. Furthermore, what at first glance seems to be a pious initiative may have been loaded with political overtones.

Archaeological evidence for a Pergamene marble building project

Turning to the enigma of the actual physical form of the στοαῖς λευκολίθοις, it was already suggested by Moens et al. (1998, 271) that marble was introduced into the building activities of Pessinus as early as the Hellenistic period. It was gathered that since 'certain' marble artefacts were dug up in the area of the 'Hellenistic citadel' in sector B6 (see below and *figs 6, 19*), a Hellenistic date may be accepted for them. Unfortunately, this article on stable isotope analysis lacks an archaeological framework and omits the context and stylistic nature of the studied marble objects completely. It should, however, be acknowledged that sector B6, situated on a steep slope, has been severely disrupted by building activities of pre-Romans, Romans, Byzantines as well as by natural causes such as erosion (down-slope creep of soil). These intrusive factors have often resulted in mixed archaeological contexts and strata which exclude straightforward interpretations.

In all fairness, even though the particular suggestion of Moens et al. (1998) should be regarded with suspicion, the conclusion in se is relevant since it delivers the premise of new inquiries. Moreover, in view of the preliminary conclusion of Moens et al. (1998), it is unlikely that marble was introduced in Pessinus as late as Augustus' reign, although this was commonly - and understandably - assumed by some field archaeologists in Ballıhisar, including myself. It is indeed clear that the bulk of the attested marble building elements and structures can be assigned to the Roman era. The canal (including its first Augustan phase) and the Tiberian temple adjoining the theatre were all erected in marble, whereas the use of this stone is not attested in other, pre-Roman structures located in the sanctuary area.[17] Recent observations have led to the view that the colonnaded square (see below and *fig. 3*), completely made out of plastered limestone, may have been built in the Hellenistic age rather than in the Julio-Claudian Roman period, unlike what was surmised by Waelkens (1986). This recent take on the chronology of the colonnaded square underpins the plausible and, therefore, tempting view that construction in limestone combined with the absence of marble exploitation was the rule in monumental pre-Augustan Pessinus.

The question here is whether this unofficial view should be rejected given its neglect of marble findings from surveys in the *chora* of Pessinus. In another approach I would like to use Strabo's description of the Attalid white marble stoa ('στοαῖς λευκολίθοις') as a point of reference. Currently, only two 'palm capitals' permit an architectural linkage between Pergamum and Pessinus to be construed. Both artefacts were found during a survey in 1994 along the road to Dinek. This small village is located in the original territory of ancient Pessinus; about 8 km to the east of Ballıhisar and 6 km to the south (-east) of the ancient Pessinuntian marble quarries of İstiklalbağı.[18] A crucial aspect in our discourse is that the discovery of the palm capitals in the same area may point to a historical topographical association.

One of these capitals (h: 0.35 m, w: 0.51 m, d: 53.5 m), the only one that is preserved (*fig. 4*), was once attached to a free-standing post consisting of a half-column appended to a rectangular pillar. The other, a double capital, (*fig. 5*) is not preserved. It once crowned a double half-column, i.e.

Fig. 4. Palm capital currently in museum garden, Ballıhisar (photo Ghent University).

Fig. 5. Palm capital of a double column, found near the road to Dinek (photo Ghent University).

a free-standing support consisting of a rectangular pier with half-columns attached to opposite sides.[19]

These types of supports, which feature a combination of piers and half-columns, tended to be of slender proportions because they were generally located in the upper level of two-storeyed stoas, which were a Pergamene (and Delian) specialty.[20] The half-columnar system was attested in the Greek world as early as the 4th century BC, while the earliest double half-columnar piers are known to have existed from the early 3rd century BC onwards.[21] Since both capitals represent a different system, they may well have belonged to two different, multi-storeyed marble stoas. It is worth noting that a marble palm capital in the Pergamene style has been recuperated as *spolia* in one of the columns in the Mosque of Sivrihisar, a modern town about 14 km north of Ballıhisar and Dinek.[22]

The most striking feature of these capitals is their carved, fluted drooping leaves. Although the first Anatolian examples are attested in Archaic Phocaea, which later fell under the rule of Pergamum, this particular type of vegetative capital probably echoes Egyptian models.[23] In its Hellenistic form, the typology became a trademark motif of Pergamene architecture.[24] Indubitably, it was already introduced in the days of Philetaerus, as the mausoleum of Lysimachus (281 BC) incorporated palm capitals. From Augustus onwards, the Anatolian palm capitals remained in use in Asia Minor, reaching a height of popularity at the beginning of the 2nd century AD. In Roman examples, however, acanthus leaves consistently embellish the bottom of the bell-shaped capital.[25] Since the capitals of Dinek lack these acanthus leaves, they provide guide fossils for Hellenistic (Pergamene) activity.

Instances of Hellenistic Pergamene capitals are mostly found in western Asia Minor and Greece (Athens), but are virtually unknown with reference to central-Anatolia. It is therefore tempting to identify these two Pessinuntian palm capitals from Dinek as building elements of upper storeys of the στοαῖς λευκολίθοις from the Attalid sanctuary. Even the location of Dinek, near the foot of Mount Dindymos, the sacred mountain of Cybele (often called 'Meter Dindymene'), can only underscore our hypothesis. Granted, there is little hope of verifying whether these capitals once embellished the illustrious sanctuary, yet the discovery itself seems to testify archaeologically to the historical claim that Pergamene buildings had been erected in the territory of Pessinus during the 3rd or 2nd century BC.

In any case the capital of the attached half-column located in the museum garden seems to have been carved out of marble quarried in nearby İstiklalbağı.[26] Although the stone has not been analyzed chemically or petrographically, its low quality coarse-grained constitution suggests that it was quarried in the marble exploitation sites to the north of Ballıhisar.[27] Indeed, it would have made no sense to import such low quality marble from a further distance while it was readily available in the vicinity of the city. This lends some

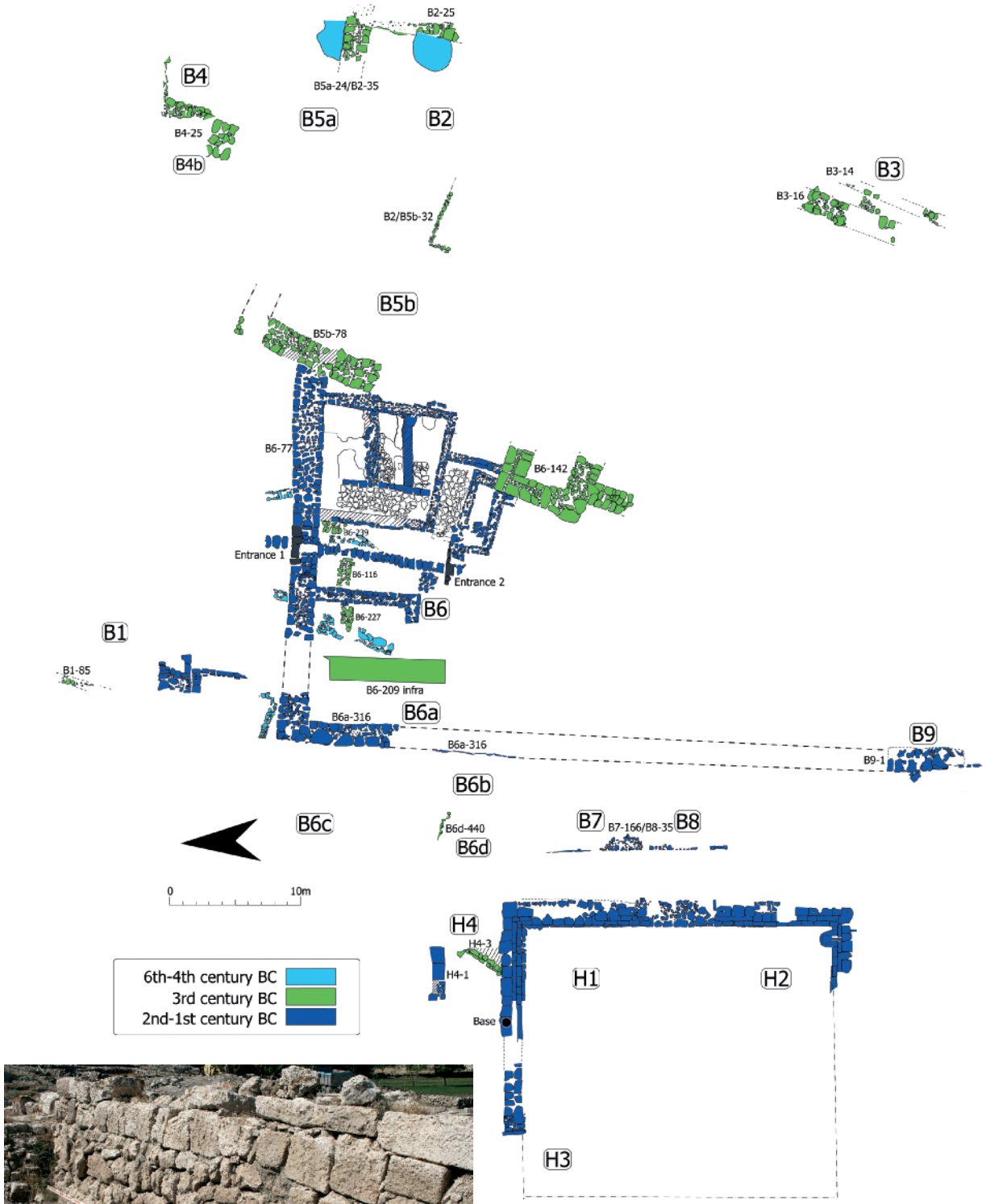

Fig. 6. State plan sectors B and H, Ballıhisar: pre-Roman period (map author).

Fig. 7. The Hellenistic underside (209 infra) of Late Roman terrace wall B6a-209 as seen from the north-east (photo author).

credence to my view that marble was already exploited locally in the pre-Roman period. In light of the stylistic analysis of the palm capitals, this practice was probably introduced by the Attalids of Pergamum.[28] In response to W. Dörpfeld's initial thesis, P. Schazmann (1923, 10) convincingly argued that marble was already used in Pergamum before the reign of Attalus II. Of course it was exploited more sparsely than in later times, but the Pergamene artisan skills to exploit, carve and build in marble, indispensable for the erection of the presumed stoa near Dinek, may very well have been available as early as the second quarter of the 3rd century BC. As such, an attribution of the edifice to the first rulers of Pergamum is, while far from obligatory, quite plausible.

The first citadel phase

Bearing in mind my proposal that the 3rd century BC may have been pivotal to the Pessinuntian sanctuary of Cybele, general archaeological observations in Ballıhisar tell much the same story. There may have been an increase in population; the earliest graves (both cremation and inhumation) in the east necropolis (sector A) date from the 3rd century BC.[29] During the first half of the 3rd century BC, wine imported from the islands of Thasos and Lesbos appears to have become essential to the Pessinuntian economy.[30] A boom in building activity is suggested by the use of the abundant limestone banks in the necropolis (nicknamed the 'acropolis') in sector I, directly to the north of the city-centre (*fig. 1*).[31] In addition, to the north of the temple sector along the river bed and behind the modern mosque (sector L), traces of late 3rd century living quarters have been unearthed.[32]

Even more importantly, the 3rd century BC saw the appearance of large-scale fortification architecture at the location of the later Roman temple (*fig. 6*). The new structure was conceived as a meandering circuit of defensive walls (2.2-3 m wide) which may have been up to 5 m in height. A natural promontory, with steep slopes to the west, east and north, served as its quintessential locus.[33] Much as would be the case in the far later Byzantine Fortress on the northern plateau, the whole structure followed these natural slopes very closely, especially to the west where a steep slope started in front of the western perimeter wall. Accordingly, the natural slopes seem to have complemented the artificial defences.[34] On the west side, on a commanding viewpoint facing the Gallos River below, there seems to have been a single projecting watchtower with more or less the same thickness of the actual barrier wall; given its location it probably served signalling purposes.[35] The original extent of the monumental building is ambiguous, yet the impression arises that it complied with the NE-SW orientation that seems to have prevailed in this sector during the 4th and 3rd century and was dictated by natural topography.[36]

Little is known of the inner part of this structure, except that it contained a small cellar construction (B2/B5b-32) which was later destroyed when the foundation trenches of the temple were dug.[37] We know little of the appearance of the building above ground, yet some roof tiles and a terracotta plaque with a meandering swastika found in the destruction trench of wall B3-14 hint at some aspects of its embellishment.[38]

Later on, perhaps still in the 3rd century, a monumental terrace wall (B6a-209 infra; *figs 6-7*) was built on the western slope, adopting an innovative S-N orientation which would become dominant for structures built from the late 2nd century BC onwards.[39] On the terrace, at least one rectangular building (structures B6-116, B6-227 and B6-239) was erected, parallel with the new terrace wall (*fig. 6*).[40] Given its location in front of the perimeter wall, it might very well have served as an arsenal, some kind of sign post, or even as barracks for guards.[41]

On the basis of all of the evidence from the excavations in the region of the temple area, it appears that 3rd century Pessinus evolved from a budding Phrygian settlement along the Gallos riverbed into a crucial town, at least parts of which suddenly became worth, or even needed, defending.[42] As was often the case in any historical context, this may have been stimulated by the erection of a prestigious sanctuary (cf. Cilician Olba-Diocaesarea), *in casu* the one built by the Attalids. One can only wonder whether Philetaerus, experienced in fortifying his own citadel palace and aiding cities in their defence against the Gauls, could have played a part in the construction of the new military architecture of Pessinus.

Pessinus in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC

Situating the Pessinuntian oligarchy in the spectrum of power

The 'gift' of the *baetylus* may perhaps have allowed the Pessinuntian oligarchy to *act* as the equals of Rome and Pergamum. It is unlikely, however, that this was more than a ceremonial and practical formality.

Between 163 and 153, Attis, high priest of Pessinus, corresponded in secrecy with the Attalids of Pergamum. One of the letters reveals Pergamum's fear of Roman repercussions in the hypothetical event of acting without the latter's blessing.[43] Another mentions that the priests of Pessinus had made sacrifices for the Attalids. A.H. Rasmussen suggests that this very act defines the essence of the relationship between Pessinus and Pergamum: the sacrifices displayed loyalty, but Pergamum was the real designer of policy.[44] Overall, I find Rasmussen's view, which designates the priests as cult personnel who functioned as local ambassadors of Pergamum, to be a compelling one.[45]

It is important to briefly mention two other events from the 2nd and 1st centuries BC because they reveal the inflexible desire of Pessinus to receive Roman endorsement of its formal, autonomous status. In 102 BC, more than three decades after the Attalid kingdom had been bequeathed to Rome, the Pessinuntian high priest, Battaces, presented himself in front of the Senate in Rome dressed as a king with a garish cloak and a huge crown (Diodorus Siculus 36.13.1-3). It is alleged that quarrels had arisen between the oligarchy and the new Asian provincial authorities, perhaps pertaining to the taxing of *publicani*.[46] On this occasion, the display of gaudy power was a source of great controversy; a Roman *tribunus plebis* forbade Battaces from wearing his crown and called him an imposter, after which the priest claimed that both he and the Goddess herself had been insulted.[47] As M.G. Lancelotti pointed out, the incident shows that the priests had overstepped their boundaries. Such ostentatious behaviour was deemed acceptable in exotic and mysterious Pessinus, yet in the Roman domain it was bound to conflict with Republican *gravitas*.[48]

The arrival of Rome seemed to have spawned a risky, yet hard-headed, reaction in the clerical oligarchy. In the second half of the 1st century BC (perhaps after the constitution of the Roman province of Galatia in 25 BC), the priests published their secret correspondence with their former protectors and patrons, the Attalids of Pergamum.[49] B. Virgilio and B. Dignas interpret the exhibition of the letters as a propagandistic model of behaviour being conveyed to Rome: the autonomy of the sanctuary and its lands should be restored since Pessinus was an entity to be reckoned with; did it not once stand on an equal footing with the rulers of Pergamum? M. Pani (discussed in Strubbe 2005, 2) may be right to suggest that such an act would have been dangerous and unwise yet, in light of the above observations, such a course of action may have been exactly what happened. It is now my intention to outline and analyze the monumental architecture that took shape in this hazy political climate.

The second citadel phase

With the archaeological findings from the 2nd century BC it becomes possible to paint an especially rich and diverse picture. During the late Hellenistic period, rural settlements sprung up around the city centre and small watchtowers were built to further ensure its defence.[50] The eastern necropolis remained in use and on the northern plateau, which flanks the modern entry road into Ballıhisar, systematic burials took place from ca 100 BC onwards.[51] Italic amphoras (Dressel 1A; Lamboglia 2) which abound in layers associated with the colonnaded square (sector H) suggest an increasing Roman presence during the late Hellenistic period.[52] The same picture is got from the amphoras in the foundation layers of the new citadel fortress (*fig. 6*).

Indeed, a study of the monumental wall structures to the N-W of the temple's euthynteria and its associated pottery suggests that, somewhere between the last quarter of the 2nd century and the first quarter of the 1st century BC, a new building had been erected as a monumental annex of the early-Hellenistic circuit walls, which probably remained functional.[53] The late-Hellenistic complex, B6, is composed of a N-S orientated rectilinear plan with large perimeter *emplecton* walls. A monumental gateway was situated centrally in the northern wall (B6-77), and in its axis there was another monumental entrance to the south, thus forming some sort of forecourt.[54] At some point, the walking level was raised by nearly one m, which is indicated by two superposed thresholds that are connected to the northern gateway. It is likely that this occurred somewhere in the first quarter of the 1st century BC. Bordering the forecourt to the east was a sequence of three rooms which had originally been one larger space. These rooms were embellished with luxurious stucco paintings and various forms of marble pavement (e.g. *opus segmentatum*, *in casu* a mix of marble and quartzite scales encased in a thick layer of mortar creating a rather rough pattern of irregular '*tesserae*').[55] Luxury, however, was not restricted to the interior, as the discovery of a refined bronze nail head (*fig. 8*) from the monumental entrance gate, as well as a terracotta antefix (*fig. 9*) (with swastika motifs) bear witness.[56]

In order to build the northern perimeter wall (B6-77), the early Hellenistic terrace example (B6a-

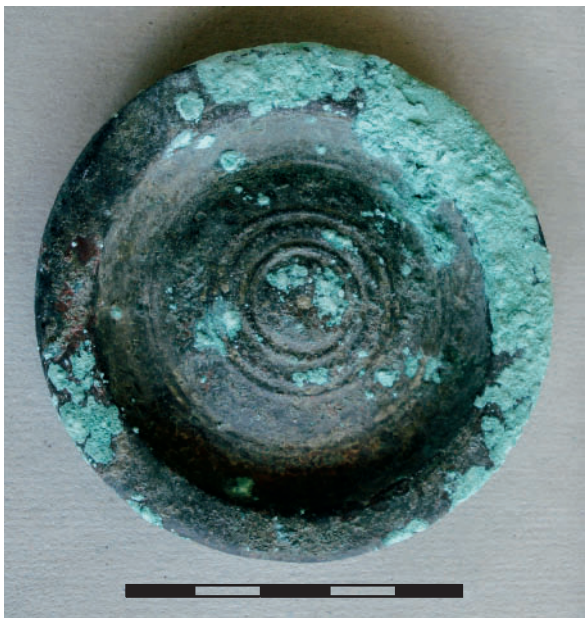

Fig. 8. Bronze nail head found between temenos and wall B6-77 (photo author).

Fig. 9. Antefix found between temenos and wall B6-77 (photo Patrick Monsieur).

Fig. 10. Doric capital found in the ash layer of the east stoa (section H) (photo author).

Fig. 11. Column drum found in the fire layer of the east stoa (section H) (photo author).

209 infra) was dismantled locally. The new terrace wall (B6-316) formed a corner with the western extremity of wall 77. It had the same orientation as the early-Hellenistic version, but was implanted some 3 m further down the slope, towards the riverbed in the west. This expansion of the original artificial terrace was, of course, the only way to provide sufficient space for the installation of spaces to the west of the forecourt. Since the original terrace wall (B6a-209 infra) was not incorporated into the new building, even though this could easily have been done, the enlargement of the terrace must have been essential to the new building program.

The core of the building was dismantled during the reign of Tiberius to clear space for the construction of the stairway-theatre and the temple. However, trench B9 (*fig. 6*) gives us some idea of how far the structure was extended towards the south: wall B9-1 runs beyond the boundaries of the later Roman southern temenos' wall foundations.[57] It can be inferred that the western side of the building had a minimum length of ca 60 m. The enormous width (a maximum of 2.5 m) of the

deeply implanted walls is similar to the common dimensions of the fortification walls in the Greek-Hellenistic world and even in Pessinus proper.[58] The walls of the early-Byzantine fortress on the plateau to the north of the city (the so-called 'Acropolis', in reality a necropolis) are similar in width (2.5 m).[59] Such a dimension suggests that it was a *parodos* (an *ambulatorium* for soldier movement on the top of the defence walls) with a protective stone railing on top.[60] The phenomenon of a forecourt with a second gateway which lies in the extension of the main entrance is famously accounted for in several of Ancient Greece's fortification structures, including those in Messena and Corinth.[61]

In my opinion, Vermeulen's initial identification of the B6 structures as a residential citadel with a defensive function is still relevant.[62] Rather mysteriously, the excavators (Devreker et al. 2003a, 144) recently revised this theory in favour of identifying these structures as a cult building.[63] Since the late Hellenistic edifice shares the orientation of the later Roman temple complex, it was deduced that the construction must have served a cult function. Clearly, the arguments behind this conclusion of cultic continuity are inherently flawed; continuity in orientation cannot be taken as a criterion for functional attribution. Of course, the misconception in Devreker et al. (2003a) also stems from the fact that the underside of B6a-209 had not yet been recognised as a separate and much earlier wall. But as I argued above, the new orientation already existed during a phase preceding the erection of the late-Hellenistic structure and was likely connected with the first citadel. Therefore, the lay-out of the new citadel was simply dictated by the direction of the earlier Hellenistic terrace wall (B6a-209 infra), fragments of which were preserved to the east of the new terrace wall (B6a-316).[64]

The colonnaded square

Introduction

The layout of the state plan suggests that the colonnaded square (*fig. 6*) at the western foot of the citadel hill (sector H) more or less conformed to the general east-west longitudinal axis of the Roman sanctuary. Therefore the structure has generally been thought to be an integrated part of the imperial temple complex.[65] However, below we will debunk the validity of this theory.

Of equal importance to the demystification of the colonnaded square is a fire layer that covers most of the structure, suggesting that at some point during its history an unknown disaster struck the building. This destruction stratum may hold the key to solving the issue of chronology, which is still somewhat unclear.

The archaeological remains

Only three sides of the square (*fig. 6*), built entirely out of stuccoed limestone, have been discovered, because the excavation of a hypothetical western side is, unfortunately, impracticable due to the presence of a modern village road which is still frequently used by shepherds. We know for certain that the three excavated sides consisted of porticoes with three steps bordering the inner courtyard. Both the northern and eastern porticoes were single-aisled and covered a span of ca 5 m. Only the length of the eastern stylobate side is known, i.e. 26.4 m (measured between the inner corners); the inner courtyard proper measures 24.9 m on this same side. The western part of the north side was dismantled in ancient times but, based on the preserved remains, the attested length of the north side of the inner courtyard was at least 16 m.[66] The northern stylobate has only been preserved for a distance of 10.2 m (measured from the front of the eastern stylobate). Waelkens' thesis (1986, 43) that the north side was at least 32 m in length should be rejected since it has been contradicted by more recent observations in the field. When Lambrechts tried to verify the complete dimensions of the square, the excavations in the H-sector were extended to the west, towards the Gallos riverbed. The results of this work were unexpected: neither the north-western corner of the courtyard (assuming there had been one), nor its destruction trenches were accounted for. Certain Byzantine structures were erroneously interpreted as the northern back wall of the portico. This is probably the premise of Waelkens' misconception, although, unfortunately, he did not specify which observations led to his proposed measurements. In 2002, new attempts were made to find the hypothetical north-western corner of the square. Once again, no new indications were found for the thesis that the north side was at least 32 m in length. My own observations during the 2007 and 2008 campaigns only testify to the fact that the inner courtyard had a length of at least 16 m on its northern side, which is in fact shorter than the known length of the eastern side.[67] This is a crucial observation, since it opens windows for new interpretations concerning axiality. Below we will discuss the consequences for the relationship of the square with the rest of the main sanctuary structures.

On the east side of the square, the burnt layer yielded fragments of the Doric order (capitals (*fig. 10*) and column shafts (*fig. 11*), both originally covered with *stucco lustro*, imitating veined marble), *tegulae* and *imbrices* (which hold little chronological significance), patches of stucco wall paintings, and massive amounts of wood. The north side revealed a limestone column base on the stylobate (*fig. 12*), along with several fragments of stuccoed dentilated friezes (*figs 13-14*) and architraves (divided in *fasciae*) in the destruction layer. In the campaign of 2008, the base on the northern stylobate was lifted with a crane. This led to the observation of a carved marking underneath. From this we finally have confirmation that the base was still located *in situ*.[68] Although the shape of the base, with a circular plinth, is peculiar, its general proportions are at least in part canonical; in accordance with the Vitruvian module for the Ionic order, the height of the base (0.4 m) is half of the lower diameter of its corresponding column (0.8 m).[69]

The traditional view on reconstruction

Waelkens (1986) reconstructs the square with a Ionic portico on all three known sides, i.e. the north, east and south. On the southern and northern sides he proposes a diastyle scheme (intercolumniation amounting to three times the lower diameter).[70] On the eastern side he proposes an unspecified 'closer' intercolumniation (probably systyle). In accordance, attempting to solve the seemingly awkward problem which the presence of Doric column shafts and capitals presents, he argues that there may have been an additional Doric storey on the east side, thus forming a Rhodian peristyle. There is, however, no convincing basis for this proposition. First of all, no Ionic elements have been accounted for on the east and south sides; many more Doric elements have been found on these sides. Furthermore, even though the smaller, lower diameter (ca 0.5 m) of the Doric elements would allow them to be positioned on top of the sturdier Ionic colonnade (lower diameter: ca 0.8 m), a superposition of the Doric order on the elegant Ionic order would present a bizarre scheme which conflicts with the architectural canons of the Hellenistic and Roman ages.[71] Finally, only the eastern and southern sides contain dowel holes. What is more, their channels (*fig. 15*; also see *fig. 11*) match the diameter of the Doric columns yet they do not fit that of the base for the Ionic columns.

Waelkens obviously extrapolated his conclu-

Fig. 12. Base and corresponding capital; northern stylobate (section H) (photo Pessinus Archive).

Fig. 13. Cornice with dentilated frieze found in the fire layer of the north stoa (section H) (photo author).

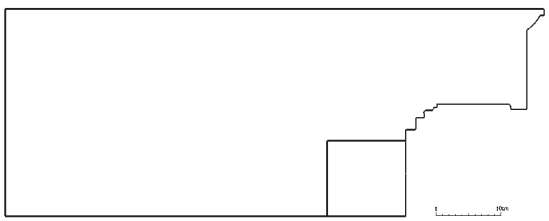

Fig. 14. Profile of cornice with dentilated frieze, north side stoa (drawing author).

Fig. 15. Dowel hole on the eastern stylobate (H) (photo author).

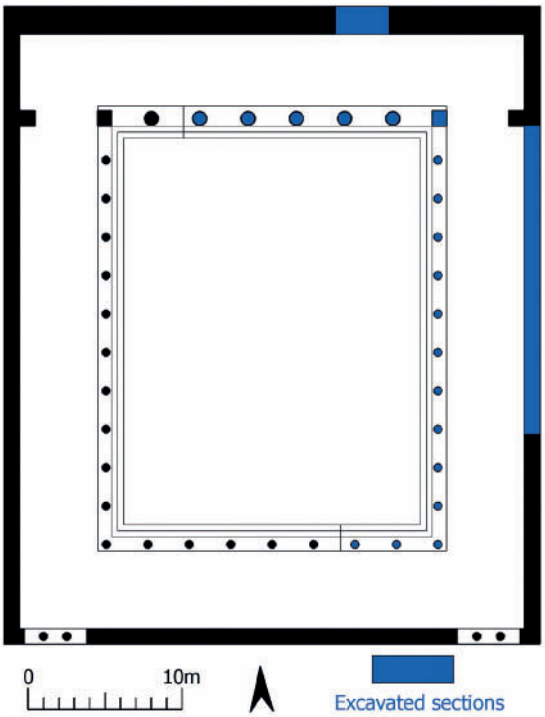

Fig. 16. Conjectural restored plan of the colonnaded square, sector H (drawing author).

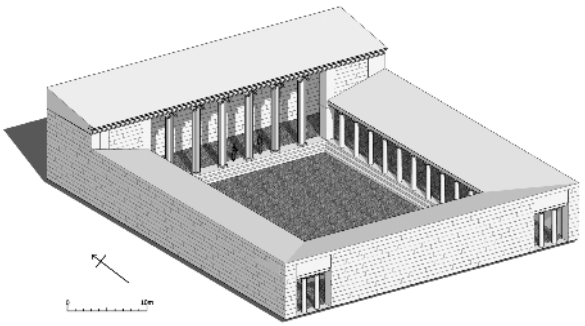

Fig. 17. Conjectural reconstruction of the colonnaded square in isometric view (drawing author).

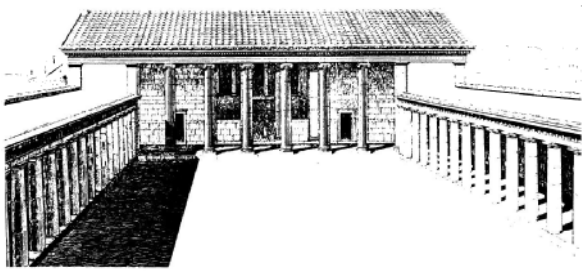

Fig. 18. The palaestra of the gymnasium in Miletus (from von Gerkan/Krischen 1928, pl. VI).

sions on the order in the northern colonnade to the other known sides. Yet clearly, two different systems were applied on, respectively, the north and east/south sides.

On the basis of the dimensions and distribution of the architectural remnants and the markings on the stylobate, a new reconstruction for the porticoed square can be proposed. As had already been recognised by Waelkens, the axis of the colonnaded square was situated a few metres to the south of and parallel to the longitudinal alignment of the stairway-theatre and temple.[72] This deviation has never been adequately explained. My attempt at a new reconstruction might, however, clarify this strange phenomenon.

A new attempt at reconstruction

On the north side there seems to have been a portico with six Ionic columns (*figs 16-17*), in a diastyle intercolumnation, and with an entablature encompassing an architrave and a dentilated cornice, but lacking a frieze.[73] The omission of a frieze might have been a practical solution to the wide interval between the columns. In fact, Vitruvius (3.3.4) commented that the use of a diastyle intercolumnation would cause the architrave to break under the weight of the entablature.[74] The Gymnasium of Eudemos in Miletus (late 3rd century BC) - a building of vital importance in this context (see below and *fig. 18*) - with an Ionic colonnade approaching a diastyle scheme similarly included an entablature with a dentilated cornice directly crowning the architrave.[75]

Our evidence implies that Doric colonnades were erected on the south and east sides since these revealed an even wider intercolumnation (araeostyle).[76] It should also be noted that the southern colonnade had slightly wider intervals than the east portico.[77] Given the significant amounts of charred wood which the fire layer yielded in these sections, as well as the wide intervals between the Doric columns, the colonnades of these sides probably supported simple wooden beams.[78] Vitruvius (3.3.5) recommended wooden beams for araeostyle colonnades, stating that stone elements would be too weighty.[79] We can assume that the araeostyle intercolumnations improved the visibility of the painted stucco panels on the east side (as seen from the inner courtyard), and the same is true for spectacles taking place in the square (as witnessed from within the porticoes).[80]

The east portico had eleven columns, in addition to one pillar in the northern corner which

Fig. 19. State plan sectors B and H, Ballıhisar: Middle-Roman, Late-Roman and some Byzantine structures have been omitted for reasons of clarity (map author).

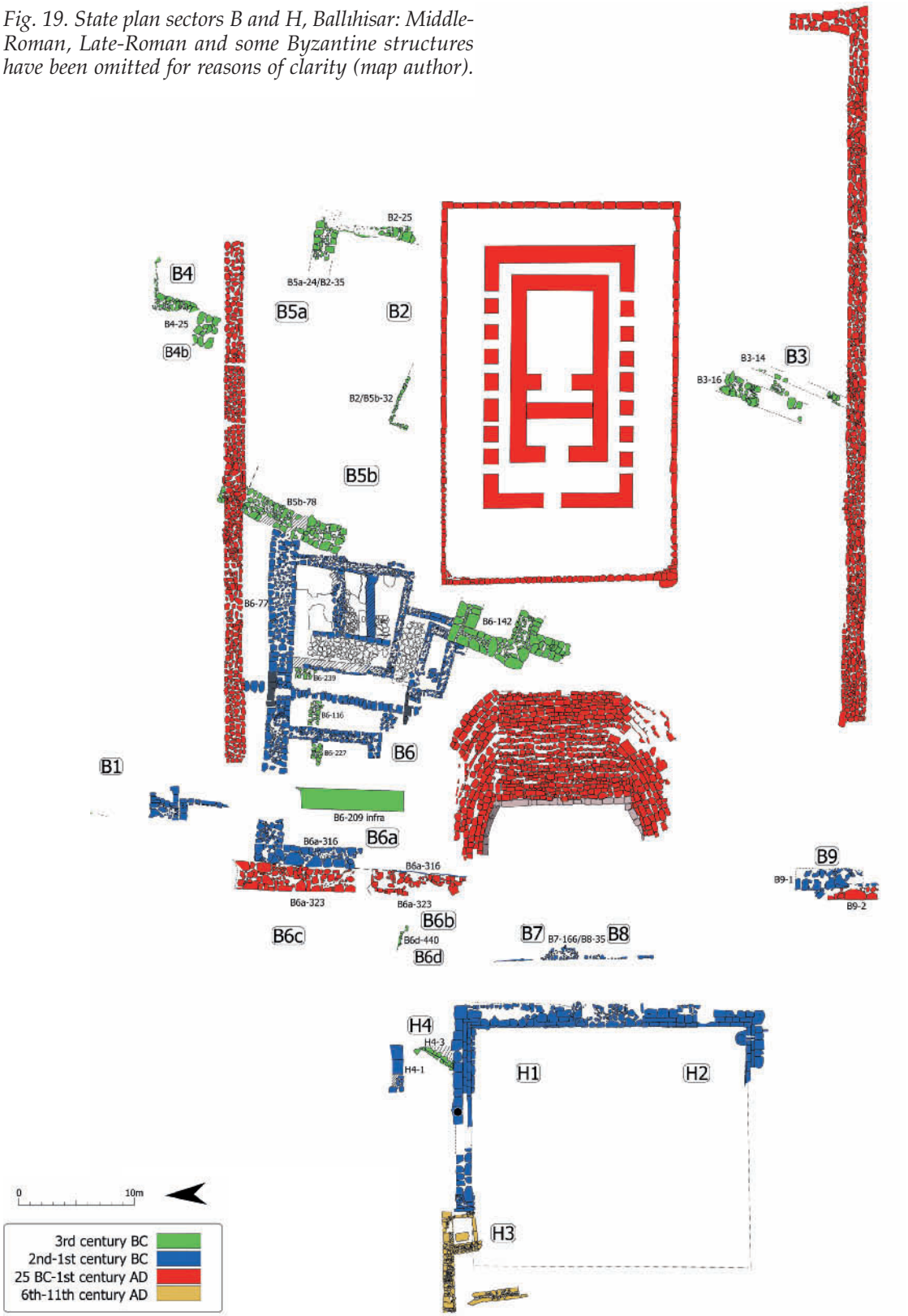

Fig. 20. Wall H4-1 (photo author).

linked the Doric colonnade to the northern portico. Orthogonal markings on the north-eastern corner of the stylobate support the notion that there stood a pillar instead of a column.[81] This is not surprising since the presence of a cylindrical column would have been anomalous in the transition between a low and a high portico building.

By comparing the intercolumnations of the south and north sides, we may surmise a length of about 20.6 m for the north stylobate, making it, in fact, shorter than the eastern side. Unsurprisingly, this would locate the western extremity of the northern stylobate underneath a concentration of Byzantine structures in sector H3 (*fig. 19*), which may have used parts of the stoa as a foundation. Of course, this is highly speculative, and the western part may have been completely dismantled in the post-stoa phase.[82] Only further excavations in H3, underneath the Byzantine wall structures, might shed more factual light on the matter.

The 2008 campaign uncovered the foundations of the back wall (H4-1) of the northern stoa (*fig. 20*).[83] It is clear that the foundations here are much sturdier (with a depth of at least 1.7 m) than on the east side (B7-166/B8-35), suggesting that a more monumental wall (or building) must have been built here. Nonetheless, the depth of the northern stoa only matches that of the east portico (5 m). Two rectangular blocks of the visible back wall have remained *in situ*, but they do not contain any traces of stucco paintings.[84] As far as I know, there is no obvious reason to assume that they had been adorned in a similar way to the masonry of the east stoa back wall.

Due to the fragmented preservation of their shafts, we can only make a theoretical guess at the height of the columns. Based on Vitruvian modules, the Ionic and Doric examples may have been, respectively, 7.47 m (0.4 (base) + 6.8 m (shaft = 8.5 x 0.8) + 0.27 m (height capital)) and 3.75 m (radius of the lower column x 15 = 0,25 x 15 m) in height (including the capitals).[85]

We must not forget to mention the theory of the so-called phase of decay that supposedly came about before the ultimate demolition.[86] This presumption was mainly inferred from the fact that there was no pavement observed in neither the space between the stylobate and back wall nor in the inner courtyard. Devreker et al. (2003, 149, 151) surmised there had been a phase of neglect since the destruction layer sealed these sections. Yet, before the Imperial period, paved stoa floors were quite exceptional; as a rule, a surface of beaten earth was deemed sufficient.[87] Proof of the absence of paving in the Pessinuntian porticoes can be found in the irregular facing of the rear of the stylobate on the east side, a feature which is common for stoas with packed earth as floors. Since not a single stone slab has been found in the inner courtyard, it might also have been left unpaved. Nonetheless, a 'ridge' (*fig. 3*) projecting from underneath the stereobate has been taken as proof of an original paving of this section.[88] The irregularity of this feature, however, contradicts any theory of systematic design. It should merely be interpreted as part of the foundations. It is true that in some places (especially in trench H1, but hardly in H2) it protrudes, yet this is not surprising since it was below walking level and there was no strict need to align the foundations with the face of the bottom stereobate.

However, since the rear of the slabs belonging to the northern stylobate shows much more regularity, it may originally have been paved, as opposed to the eastern side and the courtyard. This complies with the focal character we have attributed to the northern side.

Implications

Important deductions can be made from this new attempt at reconstruction. First of all, the colonnaded square seems to have had emphasised a north-south axiality. On the north, there may have been six Ionic columns with two pillars in the corners, while the west and east sides had eleven Doric columns. From this it could be deduced that the south side had nine columns.[89] Indeed, the structure must have had a Rhodian peristyle, as Waelkens suggests, yet the focal element had never been on the east side, nor had there been a second Doric storey. What is more, our reconstruction is much more similar to Vitruvius' definition, which states that a Rhodian peristyle should have a *higher colonnade* (rather than a second storey) on the *north side*.[90] The Pessinuntian colonnades reveal precisely such a configuration. One can easily imagine the practical advantage of positioning the higher colonnade to the north; sunlight was effortlessly allowed onto the inner courtyard, suggesting that the optimal visibility of events that took place on the square must have been an important factor in the design. Indeed, unlike the previous interpretation, the north side may actually have been shorter than the east side, which would be logical in view of the more monumental north section. Based on the above observations, it should be understood that there never was an axial connection with the theatre-temple precinct. Accordingly, the 'problem of the parallel axis' may well have been resolved.

Secondly, the belief that there had, in fact, been a south portico has become increasingly feasible. A low Doric colonnade adjoining a higher Ionic colonnade in the east section must have had a pendant in the south part. The porticoed square in Pessinus was, therefore, probably designed as a *quadriporticus* with a Rhodian peristyle on its north side.

Thirdly, from a theoretical viewpoint, we can assume that the propylon of the colonnaded square was or is situated on the south side, since architectural logic dictates that the entrance would have been on the opposite side of the focal section, perhaps even in the same axis. Lateral entrances such as in the Gymnasium of Olympia (early 2nd century BC) may also have been present.[91] Because I reconstruct nine columns on the south side, I prefer the hypothesis of lateral entrances, since an uneven number of columns on the south would be an impediment for axiality with the even number of columns on the north. This seems to have been the case in Olympia.

Typological predecessors and parallels

A pertinent parallel for our reconstructed square can be found in the *palaestra* of the Gymnasium of Eudemos in Miletus (late 3rd century BC; *fig. 18*), which also features a central Ionic colonnade and flanking Doric colonnades.[92] In this case the propylon is located in the central longitudinal axis. The Bouleuterion of Miletus (175-163 BC) is akin to this structure, even though the focal colonnade of the court is replaced by a closed wall adorned with monumental Ionic pilasters on the first tier.[93] Even more similar is the 'peristyle house' ('Hofhaus') constructed in the same city next to the temple of Athena during the reign of Eumenes II.[94] As is the case in our reconstruction of the colonnaded square, it has almost square proportions (17.8 x 20.9 m) with a shorter northern focal side with eight spans.

Similarly, in Pergamum, the Hellenistic Temenos for the Attalid Ruler Cult (late 3rd century BC) (*fig. 21*), which, according to Boehringer (1937, 82) was directly influenced by the Gymnasium of Eudemos and the Council House in Miletus, is characterised by an Ionic portico and Doric colonnades on the three other sides.[95] In this example, based on the proportions of the columns and the intercolumnation, the Ionic colonnade may have been of the same height as those of the Doric ones, as opposed to the examples in Miletus and Pessinus.[96]

All these *quadriporticus* share the same characteristics: an inner courtyard surrounded on three sides by Doric colonnades and a central, more monumental Ionic portico resulting in a pronounced axiality. While the complex in Pergamum may have been influenced by the Gymnasium of Eudemos in Miletus, the appearance of the one in Pessinus was probably conditioned by the Pergamene example. For instance, it shares the rather square morphology, leaving behind the rectangularity of the Milesian example. Even its absolute dimensions (which are rather modest) are comparable (20.6 x 24.9 m in Pessinus; 17.58 x 20.99 m in Pergamum).[97] Some architectural details are also similar, such as the crowning of the focal side which also constitutes a dentilated frieze, including a sima moulding profile very similar to that found in the colonnaded square of Pessinus.[98] In addition, terracotta meander friezes have been identified in the Temenos for the Ruler Cult analogous to those in the fire layer in Pessinus.[99]

Strikingly, the intercolumniation of the Doric colonnades in Pergamum is almost identical to that observed in the Pessinuntian colonnaded square, i.e. an interaxial distance of 2.49 m observed

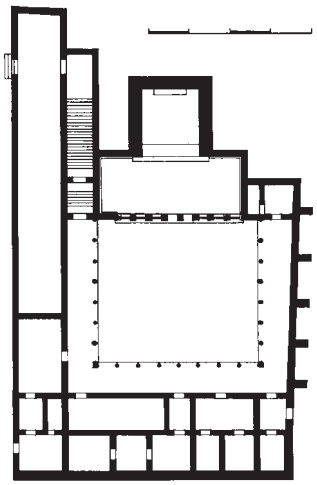

Fig. 21. Restored plan of the Temenos for Ruler Cult in Pergamum (from Yegül 1982, 17 fig. 15, redrawn after Boehringer/Krauss 1937, fig. 23).

in Pergamum versus a distance of 2.45 m in Pessinus.[100] In the case of Pergamum, the metope/triglyph system is used to determine the intercolumniation of the columns, but since the Pergamene columns have a wider diameter (0.6 m lower base) they constitute a diastyle scheme rather than an araeostyle. Their known height (4.66 m) follows the same Vitruvian module as we used above to calculate the presumed height of our Doric colonnade.[101] This observation might lend some credibility to my choice to use this particular module (Vitruvius 5.9.3) in proposing a hypothetical height for our Doric colonnade, for it is obvious that it goes beyond mere theoretical recommendations and was, indeed, used for the building of Doric colonnades in Hellenistic Anatolia.

However, besides obvious structural differences, the Pessinuntian structure shows some notable variations on its presumed Pergamene model. In contrast with our courtyard, the main side of the inner court of the Temenos is, in fact, longer than the flanking sides; however, since walls have been built on both sides of the NW main stylobate, the actual Ionic colonnade is shorter than its Doric counterparts, thereby creating the illusion that the focal side is shorter. Another divergence from the Pergamene model is the use of material: in Pessinus, plastered limestone with marble imitation was used throughout, while in Pergamum, red andesite stone was used for the Doric columns and marble for the Ionic colonnade.[102] Also, in Pessinus, the clover-shaped columns from the corners - also confirmed in all the mentioned examples from Miletus - were abandoned in favour of circular columns, perhaps because these could be produced more economically.[103] Conceivably it was for financial cutback as well that a wooden entablature was used for the Doric colonnades and that the frieze was omitted in the focal side of the Pessinuntian building.

Chronology

A variety of dates have been proposed for the destruction of this square. During the 1998 campaign, Waelkens' original guess of a date in the early 2nd century AD was rebutted by the finding of coins in the ash layer, the most recent of which was of Arcadius (392 AD).[104] Both of these dates, however, are not supported by some recent discoveries, in particular L. Laken's findings about the painting fragments recovered from the fire layer. Her study revealed that the moulded, stuccoed painting panels (depicting geometrical motifs such as meanders along with *trompe l'oeil* cymatia), which adorned the east stoa wall, are attributable to the 'First Oriental Style', the Eastern equivalent of the First Pompeian Style as described by O. Bingöl (1997, 89-97). Therefore the paintings, and *mutatis mutandis* the destruction, can be dated around the late 2nd century BC. Significantly, she notes that the paintings were stylistically similar to patches of paintings found in the citadel, the latter which is dated to the late 1st century BC by ceramological evidence.[105] This type of decoration seems to have been inspired by paintings in late-Hellenistic houses in Delos, but analogous works are also known to have adorned contemporary buildings in Pergamum, Priene and Cnidus.[106]

The question, thus, arises as to how this new information can be reconciled with the presumed destruction of the colonnaded square in the late-Roman period (as indicated by the coins). Could it be a residual archaism that echoes a Hellenistic style, as has been attested in some of the Roman wall paintings in the monumental tombs of Roman Palmyra?[107] Such an explanation may attribute to the Pessinuntian oligarchy an inclination to cling on to the (art of the) past. The truth, however, is probably more prosaic. Approximately 0.4 m above the destruction layer, and covering the whole surface of the porticoed square, the presence of a second, thinner charcoaled layer has been acknowledged during recent campaigns. When the Arcadius coin was brought to light, this second ash layer had not yet been recognised as a separate stratum, meaning that if the coin originated from the more recent layer, the conflict with the date of the paintings may well not exist.[108] Another explanation is that in Byzantine times a large artisanal and residential quarter was built over the colonnaded square, during which many trenches and pits were dug into the layers above in order to build walls

and entrench pithoi for storage.[109] One coin, therefore, is hardly representative for the chronology of the fire layer as a whole. What is more, it would have been rather surprising if some intrusive late-Roman and Byzantine coins had been lacking in the fire layer of the stoa given the many intrusive building activities later.

Recently, P. Pensabene has compared the Doric capitals (*fig. 10*) of the square with Hellenistic examples from buildings such as the House of the Comedians in Delos (2nd century BC).[110] In view of his analysis, it should not come as too much of a surprise that the moulding profile of the dentilated cornice (*fig. 14*) has a nearly identical parallel in the Hellenistic Shrine for Mithradates VI (sanctuary of the Theoi Megaloi) in Delos, which is dated with certainty to 102/101 BC.[111] Given the similarity of the reconstructed colonnaded square with many structures in Pergamum and Miletus, which are all roughly dated between 200-150 BC, we should not be surprised that the paintings on the back walls reveal late 2nd century stylistic features. Our structure may very well have been influenced by these buildings, especially the so-called Temenos for the Ruler Cult in Pergamum. Moreover, the evidence of the paintings combined with our architecture-typological comparative research suggests that our building may only have been in use for a few decades before it was untimely destroyed.

Is the colonnaded square Strabo's 'στοαῖς λευκολίθοις'?

Even though the structure is clearly influenced by Pergamene architecture, I deem it unlikely that the structure can be identified with the Attalid stoa ('στοαῖς λευκολίθοις'), as Pensabene has suggested.[112] Our edifice is built entirely of limestone instead of white marble. Of course, one could object by claiming that the *stucco lustro* of the columns had the appearance of real marble; indeed, Strabo might have been misinformed about the appearance of the stoa. On the other hand, Strabo originated from Pontus in Asia Minor and had travelled throughout the Roman Empire. Would it then not be plausible to suppose that he had seen the sanctuary in person? It would, in any case, be odd if the otherwise perceptive author had made such an error. In my opinion, the marble palm capitals from Dinek fit Strabo's description much better. And even if they were not part of the stoa belonging to the sanctuary of Cybele, the capitals show that Pergamene architects must have been working in Pessinus during Hellenistic times, using marble as a major building source. It would have been strange if they had not similarly used marble for the colonnaded square, especially since its model in Pergamum was partly made of this type of stone. The colonnaded square in Pessinus may present us with a more low-budget approach of the priest class in emulating one of the structures that were iconic of the royal authority of their previous benefactors. The Pessinuntian oligarchy, now in charge of its own building programs, *mutatis mutandis* seeking more economic solutions to reach the grandeur of old, may have needed to compromise by using *stucco lustro* in order to convey the effect of marble and wood in its effort to recreate the entablature of the Doric colonnades.

Some notes on functionality

If our arguments are solid, the overall dimensions of the square (inner courtyard: 20.6 x 24.9 m) must have been rather modest. In light of these new observations it is unlikely that it served as a commercial centre, as has been suggested by the Ghent excavators in the past.[113] It should be noted that the colonnaded square follows the same S-N direction as the late-Hellenistic citadel and the earlier terrace wall (B6a-209 infra). The structure might, therefore, instead, have been part of the citadel on the promontory, serving a (partly?) private function as an independent palaestra (in other words: not belonging to a larger gymnasium complex). I would, therefore, like to draw attention to the fact that many residences of Hellenistic rulers had adjoining gymnasia.[114] This assumption fits well with the feature of the unpaved inner square referred to above.[115] In addition, the typological analogy with the gymnasium in Miletus, and the proximity to a river (efficient for bathing after exercise) may further lend evidence to our case.[116] However, we have no proof of lavatories and dressing rooms, which one would, of course, expect to be present in a *palaestra*, yet this may merely reflect the progress and practical limitations of the excavations or even the destructive intervention of the Byzantines and Ottomans, rather than the non-existence of these features. Moreover, in the zone directly to the north of the northern stoa, which is, as of yet, unexcavated, a monumental annex with rooms might have been present, which is a common feature in *quadriporticus* with focal portico-halls. Archaeological reality often shows that, in conformity with Vitruvius' suggestions, important quarters of *palaestrae* were present to the north of the courtyard.[117] This was also the case in Miletus. In the parallel examples from Miletus and Pergamum,

the focal hallways are consistently larger than the other three since they are linked with important rooms and shrines. Since the northern main portico in Pessinus had a breadth that was only similar to the one flanking it to the east, there is all the more reason to assume there were several rooms adjoining it to the north, legitimizing the monumental character of the northern portico. This area, however, has, as of yet, not been excavated.

Of course the structure could have been a means to self-glorify the Pessinuntian dynasty, much as the Attalid dynasty did with a similar building, legitimizing their new formal, monarchic role.[118] The typology itself does not offer anything to facilitate the distinction between gymnasium and cult place/Heroon. The *quadriporticus* may have been used for both functions.[119] Additionally, many gymnasia have been known to provide the burial grounds of their founders, thereby turning them into a place of worship.

In my opinion, even though the current state of the excavations does not yet allow us to pinpoint the precise function of the building, the colonnaded square in Pessinus may have been conceptually akin to many other palatial structures with courtyards in the Hellenistic Mediterranean world. The urbanistic and chronological link with the second citadel on the promontory directly to the east only adds weight to this assumption. As L. Nielsen (1994, 264, 278, 302) already established, the association of palace and gymnasium became very common in the Hellenistic world.

The temple complex

Introduction

Between 1967 and 1969, the robust foundations of a peripteral, hexastyle Corinthian temple (*fig. 19*) were unearthed on top of the promontory which had been the locus of the discussed Hellenistic citadel(s).[120] In a large trench dug out in the natural soil, the foundations of the Hellenistic style temple had been implanted, destroying large parts of the Hellenistic structures.[121] The levelled terrace that was laid out around the temple covered most of the lasting Hellenistic remains (chiefly in the sloping zone to the northwest in sector B6).

Shortly after this discovery, in front of the temple, a theatre cavea, peculiarly featuring a central stairway, was uncovered. Ceramological examination of the filling of the temple foundations has dated the temple complex to the reign of Tiberius (AD 14-37), more specifically somewhere between AD 25-35.[122] The discovery near the temple of an honorary inscription (from the second half of the 2nd century AD) which mentions the '*Sebastenoi Tolistobogioi*', as well as references on the northern *anta* of the Temple of Augustus and Roma in Ancyra to the introduction of the imperial cult in Pessinus in the Tiberian period, led to the proposal that the excavated edifice was not the temple of Cybele, but rather a Sebasteion.[123]

Some scholars have criticised this identification. The doubts expressed by S.R.F. Price are still justified according to B. Burrell.[124] However, the strongest criticisms voiced against the Sebasteion theory come from G. De Francovich and Pensabene (2004).[125] Both authors identify the temple complex with the Attalid sanctuary of Cybele; as we have already mentioned, in the case of Pensabene, this includes the colonnaded square. Pensabene elaborates on De Francovich's conclusions but, after studying the remains and reports much more thoroughly, admits that the ornamental evidence supports a Tiberian date. He explains this, perhaps too eagerly, by suggesting that the temple was a Roman restoration of the old sanctuary for the Mater Magna. It may be wrong to discount Pensabene's view completely, yet it seems odd that no ancient author has reported Roman patronage of the esteemed sanctuary in Pessinus.

A full analysis of the temple complex is beyond the scope of this article. It might, nevertheless, be worthwhile to shed light on some of its aspects, such as its construction and typology, in part to answer a number of the more recent statements made by Pensabene and others.

Discontinuity in the use of material

In order to build the temple foundations a much harder and more compact limestone was used than the dendritic limestone that was common in Hellenistic Pessinuntian buildings. The origin of the quarries had been a mystery to researchers in the past; however, in 2008 helpful hints from perceptive villagers led us to a place called Yeşilköy (previously Yacıyaylas) located some 20 km SW of Ballıhisar.[126] Since no samples could be taken due to geographical restrictions in the excavation permit, no definitive conclusions were obtained. Nonetheless, it is a fact that gypsum limestone formations which feature the same basic empirical characteristics (for example the conspicuous presence of large angular fragments of minerals) as those from the temple foundations occur exclusively near the mentioned locality.

It is striking that the softer stone used in Hellenistic times was quarried much closer by, i.e. in

the immediate vicinity of Ballıhisar.[127] If the identification of the quarries is correct, we might be able to deduce that roads and other means of transportation improved during the time that the temple was erected. If the temple is indeed Tiberian, the use of stone from a much more remote location might be related to the logistic benefits that came with Roman rule. In any case, it seems there was a will to find new construction materials for the building of the cult building. In this new attitude the matter of proximity was probably no longer a decisive factor.

Theatre-temples of the ruler cult

The axial combination of temple and theatre, as attested in the Tiberian temple complex (*fig. 22*), has been treated extensively by J.A. Hanson.[128] In his book published eight years before the excavations in Pessinus started, the author situated the origins of this architectural typology correctly in late-Republican central Italy and Rome.[129] However, Hanson also judged that the Republican temple of Cybele, built in 191 BC, shortly after the Pessinuntian *baetylus* had ensured victory over Carthage, may have been a significant forerunner.[130] According to Cicero (*De Haruspicum responso* 20-24), the games for the Megalensian festival were traditionally held on the Palatine in front of the temple of Cybele in the very sight of the Great Mother (*in ipso Matris Magnae conspectu*). Indeed, at a time when the still powerful Senate forbade permanent theatres, temporary wooden structures may well have been set up in front of the temple. Pensabene accepts this as proof of his hypothesis that the Pessinuntian theatre-temple is a Roman renovation of the Attalid sanctuary.[131]

Even though Pensabene makes an interesting case, his views hinge too much on an *idée fixe*.[132] There is no reason why an urbanistic typology should have been a restricted property of a certain divinity. Similarly, as J. Strubbe (2006) suggests, it would be unwise to put too much emphasis on the theory that these western influences, which our theatre-temple betrays, help to support an identification as a building of the imperial cult. Nevertheless, there does seem to be a connection, be it causal or coincidental, between the theatre-temple typology and the imperial cult.[133]

The first *de facto* building of the Roman ruler cult was undoubtedly Rome's first permanent theatre, the Theatre of Pompey.[134] Its most striking feature is the small temple of Venus Victrix crowning the upper centre of its huge cavea. Further, the earliest and - apart from the example in Pessinus - only other known theatre-temple complex in Asia Minor was the Augustan Sebasteion of Carian Stratonicea (*fig. 23*), the remains of which were excavated in the campaigns of 1985 and 1986 under the direction of Yusuf Boysal.[135] In this case, the theatre-temple typology was only established in a second phase: a small Ionic peripteral temple had simply been erected in the axis of an existing late-Hellenistic theatre (150 BC). The complex in Stratonicea may well be the missing link between the Pessinuntian theatre-temple and the complex of Pompey. Yet, as was the case with the Pompeian complex, in Stratonicea, the much larger cavea was situated underneath a smaller temple. In Pessinus, it was the other way around, with a very small theatre dominated by a fairly large temple.

Gladiatorial combat in Pessinus
Epigraphical and typological indications

A list of priests inscribed on the left-hand *anta* of the temple of Roma and Augustus in Ankara mentions that in 31/32 AD, M. Lollius, high priest of the provincial imperial cult in Ancyra, provided a public banquet, an *agalma* and ten pairs of gladiators to Pessinus.[136]

It is widely accepted that in the Roman east, gladiatorial combat was exclusively linked to the imperial cult.[137] Lollius' gifts, therefore, may very well have been related to the games and festivities of the Pessinuntian imperial festival. Since the construction of the theatre-temple complex seems to have coincided with Lollius' gladiatorial shows, it is plausible to suppose that the spectacles took place in the excavated stairway-theatre.

Taking into account the obvious link with the towering temple, it is probably safe to assume that the stairway-theatre was a ritual theatre, which provided the setting for sacrifices, games and the concluding rituals of processions. In the light of the processional premise, there may be some significance in the fact that, in Augustan times, a monumental marble colonnade bordering the Gallos riverbed was constructed near the theatre-temple complex.

In all likelihood, the stairway was used by priests during the processional retrieval of the imperial *agalma* from the temple naos.[138] It is known that in Ephesus, the busts of the imperial family (the emperor had been added to the traditional cult of Artemis) were taken from the temple of Artemis (where the images were kept in the porch) and brought, in procession, to the city's theatre.[139] Likewise, in Julio-Claudian Gytheum (near Sparta), the theatre provided the processional setting for

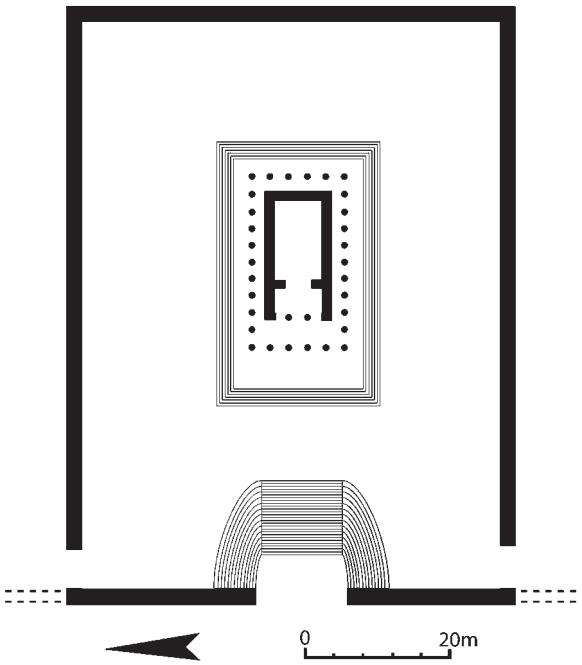

Fig. 22. Restored plan of the presumed Imperial Sanctuary as excavated in Pessinus (plan by author).

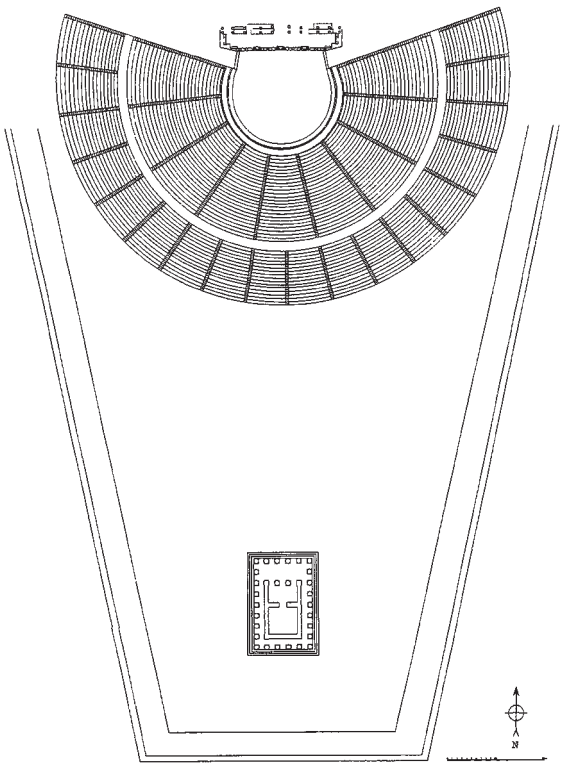

Fig. 23. Restored plan of the Sebasteion of Stratonicea (after Mert 2002, Abb. 14).

games and incense sacrifice during the imperial festival.

Some notes on the structure and functionality of the theatre

The theatre was partly laid out in the natural soil of the western slope of the promontory. It consists of a central stairway and two flanking, slightly curved, spectator wings on high podia. Originally, the whole structure was embellished with marble seats and steps, a few of which still remain *in situ*. Its idiosyncratic tripartite plan led Pensabene to suggest that the wings had been added in a second phase.[140] Although it is easy to see how one would reach this conclusion, such a phased construction could not have occurred because the upper part of the stairway was laid out on an artificial embankment and therefore, originally there would have been retaining walls flanking the steps. Since there are no stratigraphical indications of construction (or destruction) trenches of such walls, Pensabene's suggestion should be approached with reservation.[141]

Apart from the stairway-theatre's obvious idiosyncrasy - a trapezoidal plan, which combines the rectilinear and curved elements -, another noteworthy fact is that it is much smaller than its equivalents in Rome and Stratonicea. It could only accommodate ca 1200-1300 people (*including* the central stairway and with the addition of several reconstructed dismantled steps), while the Stratonicean sanctuary's theatre had a capacity of 10,000.[142] From this perspective, the Pessinuntian theatre has better parallels in the early imperial theatre-temple complexes from the East, namely in Parthian Dura-Europos (several sanctuaries), the Herodian controlled Hauran in southern Syria (Sahr and Sia'), and Nabataean Petra (the theatron of the Great Temple).[143] Except for the example in front of the naos of the Great Temple in Petra, all of these small-sized theatres share a tripartite plan where they generally had an arrangement which included a central, paved transitional zone, flanked with stepped spectator seats (which were often assigned to members of the elite by means of inscribed names).[144] These vernacular, eastern theatre-temples seem to have been fashionable during the time of Augustus and the Julio-Claudians, yet in Dura-Europa they were also built in later times.

The Pessinuntian stairway-theatre was small and was, therefore, probably intended for the privileged since its size and threefold structure is - at least on a conceptual level - similar to the

small theatres in the theatre-temples of the East. Accordingly, even though the overall theatre-temple typology was Italic, non-western elements seem to have been manifestly incorporated into the design.[145] It is tempting to read into this a desire to maintain some of the old oligarchic principles in the Greek polis that Pessinus is assumed to have become.[146]

In the Pessinuntian theatre, the lowest benches on the side wings were placed as high as 1.45 m above the orchestra's level. A marble socle moulding in the orchestra (containing dowel holes and *anathyrosis* dressing on its upper surface), in front of the northern wing, may have served as a base for a parapet, protecting the public from harm (*fig. 24*). Based on the presence of the same foundations, originally, the south wing must have been similarly equipped. However, the foundations of these socle mouldings continue along the front of the central stairway, suggesting that protective structures may also have been (occasionally) set up here. The adaptation of Greek theatres to the requirements of gladiatorial combat is known to have been very flexible; for example many podia were heightened *ad hoc* to shield the public from possible danger resulting from the events taking place. Furthermore, provisory elements such as post-and-net systems were frequently used.[147] However, such temporary solutions would not necessarily leave much trace in the archaeological record.

Waelkens' suggestion which reconstructed the colonnaded square adjoining the Tiberian theatre orchestra (*fig. 25*) was not illogical from an urbanistic point of view, especially in view of Vitruvius' recommendation that such a square should be constructed behind the *scaenae frons*, in order to create a shelter during rain.[148] Such juxtaposition has been commonly attested in the Hellenistic-Roman world. The Theatre of Pompey is the most famous example, but similar examples are found in the Greek East, as far as Babylon.[149]

Laken's analysis of the wall paintings, however, has implied that the square must already have been destroyed (and then levelled up) by the time the theatre-temple complex was built. Burrell (2004) and De Francovich (1990) claim that the theatre was too small for the organisation of gladiatorial combat, especially since it was backed up by the square.[150] Indeed, with the eastern portico restricting the space, the fighters would only have had a terrain of roughly 12 x 14 m at their disposal. However, the chronological implications of Laken's conclusions imply that there was a vast field in front of the cavea; an inference which opens windows to new hypotheses.

Fig. 24. View of north stairway-theatre (photo author).

Excavations in trench B6b during the summer campaign of 2008 evinced that the wings of the theatre (at least in their lower section) were closed off to the west by the Roman terrace wall B6a-323.[151] During the same campaign, its structural southern pendant (B9-2) was discovered in trench B9. This not only confirmed the expected symmetry of the terrace wall, it also offers the possibility of both walls connecting in the middle, thus creating some sort of rudimentary *scaenae frons* or podium wall for the stairway-theatre.[152] It is almost certain, however, that this could not have been the case, since such a wall would have reduced the depth of the orchestra to a measly 5.6 m.

It is also interesting to point out that after the porticoed square burned down, the walking level had been raised by 1 m; thus heightening the walking level to that of the stairway-theatre orchestra.[153] This supports my conviction that the stairway-theatre could only have been built after the destruction of the colonnaded square.

In the light of these new observations, it is, first of all, likely that there was an open space in front of the theatre cavea. Secondly, it is very plausible that this space was used for gladiatorial combat and other spectacles. The stairway-theatre proper may have been only one element in a larger *ad hoc* theatrical environment. The stone structure was simply not large enough to accommodate the enormous masses that are known to have participated in imperial festivals.[154] It is easy to imagine that wooden seating and tents (for banquets) were set up in the open field in front of the theatre.[155] This was also what happened in Republican Rome, where temporary wooden *spectacula* used to be constructed in the Forum Romanum as a result of the Senatorial ban on permanent theatres.[156] Extra barriers (perhaps socles) for posts and nets or

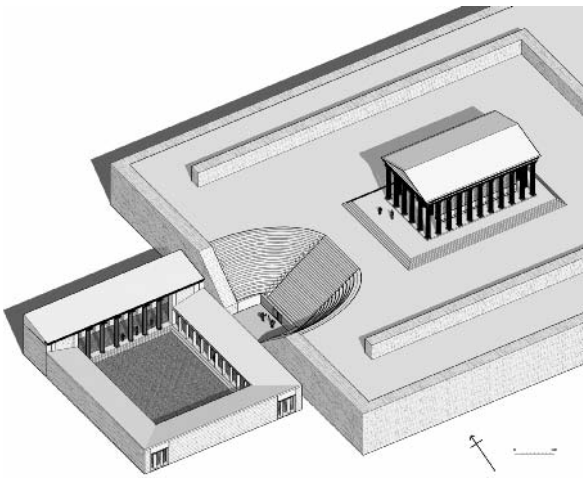

Fig. 25. Hypothetical reconstruction based on the synchronicity of porticoed square and temple as proposed by Waelkens 1986 but using the reconstruction advocated in this article (drawing author).

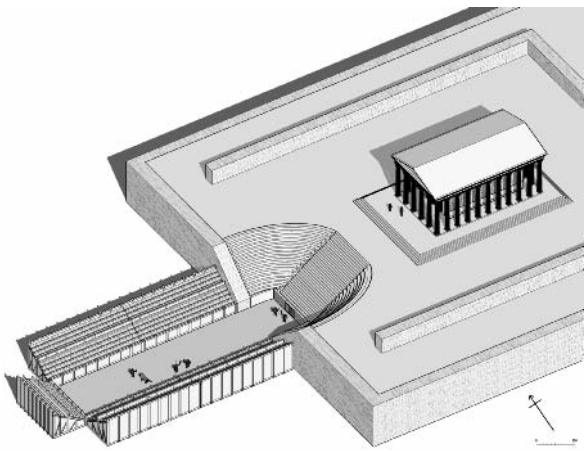

Fig. 26. Reconstruction of the stairway-theatre with purely hypothetical timber structures forming a makeshift arena (drawing author).

wooden parapets) may have been placed on the foundation slabs in front of the central stairway. Using our imagination, a small wooden structure which was added to the west side of the stone theatre could have resulted in an enclosed, makeshift space on the open field (*fig. 26*).[157] In such circumstances, there may well have been a clear segregation between those spectators on the timber structures in the field and the elitist audience in the stone theatre. None of this can be proven, but it would be bizarre if the organisers of the games had not, somehow, taken advantage of the vast empty field adjoining the theatre (the latter which was clearly designed for gladiatorial shows).[158] The use of wooden structures intended for special occasions such as religious festivals must not have been less expensive than quarrying stone. It is also important to realise that timber must have been readily obtainable since the Anatolian plateau and its valleys did not originally have steppe vegetation. The mountain slopes in the vicinity of early-Roman Pessinus (for example near Sivrihisar) may still have been heavily forested.[159] Indeed, we should heed Louis' (1939) suggestion that the deforestation of the mountains near Sivrihisar was connected with the city of Pessinus.[160] All this becomes more feasible when we bear in mind MacDonald's (1986, 272) remark concerning the relativity of archetypical Roman architecture:

> '…neither quantity nor quality is the issue. In addition to the forum with its temple and basilica, a simple arch over the main street, a decent, up-to-date bath building, and a theatre, perhaps of wood and built to double as a small amphitheatre, would do. Such towns may have been poor relations architecturally, but schematically and symbolically they were in close touch with grander places.'

Tabula rasa urbanism

It is of little surprise that the monumental display of power had little bearing on the political survival of the Pessinuntian oligarchy. Strabo (12.5.3), writing during the reign of Augustus, tellingly observed that the original power of the priests had been significantly reduced. It seems that the local elite would have had two choices: to comply with the new Roman provincial constitution, or to resist it. As always, of course, the truth might lie somewhere in the middle.

It is very unlikely that the Tiberian temple was a continuation of an older local veneration such as Cybele, all the more since it was built on top of a luxurious residential fortress. This seems to suggest that the new temple presented a new element of worship in Julio-Claudian Pessinus.[161] The imperial cult seems a valid candidate. The unforgiving destruction of the citadels on the promontory may have been emblematic of the newly installed political power of Rome and preceded by some resistance on the part of the elite (which has already been suggested by correspondence with the Attalids, see supra). Not only were monumental buildings from the Hellenistic age destroyed, but a Roman temple, which was a potent symbol of the new order, was entrenched in the vast gap

that slashed through the citadel structures.[162]

The question remains as to who was behind this seemingly caustic initiative. We can only make assumptions. It may have been the Senate or the Emperor himself, but likely it was the governor, Helvius Basila, whose coins depict a hexastyle temple.[163]

Of course, the new temple complex may have been initiated by members of the local elite, parvenus or would-be *euergetai* who had never been admitted to the ranks of the clerical oligarchy but who were trying to pluck from the fruits of the new order, as was often the case after the annexation of cities to the Empire.[164] J. Süss goes so far as to suspect that M. Lollius, high priest of the provincial imperial cult, was one of the driving forces behind the erection of a municipal temple of the imperial cult, perhaps as a reaction to the building of the provincial sanctuary in Ancyra.[165] Tellingly, a 2nd century inscription mentions that one Tiberius Claudius Heras, who had been priest of the emperors six times, was also a priest for life of the Great Mother of the Gods at Pessinus, an echo of the old oligarchic days.[166]

All in all, it might be safe to assume that there had been some kind of collaboration between the imperial authorities and the local community as was the custom from Tiberius' reign onwards.[167]

It appears as if a powerful, urbanistic symbol was created in Tiberian Pessinus, one which was probably instigated by the Roman regulators and enthusiastically implemented by local adherents. In light of these observations, Vermeulen's important query becomes even more significant:

> *'Serait-ce trop présomptueux de notre part de penser que la démolition de ce complexe monumental pour la construction d'un Sébasteion fut un acte romain chargé d'une symbolique particulière?'*[168]

The symbol of the old regime may have needed to be removed and a new image, namely that of Rome, which was the real policy maker, could have been substituted for it. Caesar, in constructing his new forum right next door to the old Forum Romanum, is known to have torn down the recently renovated Curia along with the Comitium of which the speaker's platform was simply built over.[169] Vespasian acted in a similar way by destroying parts of Nero's Domus Aurea and its *lacus* in order to build the Flavian amphitheatre.[170]

In all fairness, these analogies are far-fetched, yet they show how new Roman building programs should not be taken at face value; sometimes they could boldly disclose shifts in power or even consolidation of older ideologies.

Even though the old regime was symbolically obliterated, in some elements of the new structures remnants of it shine through. The small, elitist theatre adjoining the temple was certainly not western, neither in appearance - despite its suggestion of a cavea- nor in spirit.

They may even have used wooden structures as a means of segregating and conserving some of the images of power, creating a social dichotomy during the festivals. Despite conceptual eastern influences, the possibility of there being *ad hoc* structures connected to the stone theatre may even evoke the aristocratic feeling of fear in Republican Rome, where the senatorial oligarchy was known to have vetoed the construction of permanent theatres since a permanent infrastructure for the gathering of the masses was thought to be menacing to the political system.[171]

Conclusion

Philetaerus' and Attalus' politics were focused on aggressively constructing a public image, cultivating ties and subsequently forging alliances with cities and states that were deemed too weak, or were located too far away to pose a threat.[172] Risky and dangerous concords with the great powers such as Macedonia and Syria had to be avoided at all costs. Pessinus, however, was an ideal candidate: it was located in a remote site and had no military tradition. Monumentalizing the esteemed cult - in Phrygian times, perhaps set up in open air, rock cut shrines - could have provided opportunities for the image and power of the budding Pergamene kingdom.

When the Pergamene kingdom disappeared from the annals of history after 133 BC, Pessinus lost its most important benefactor and protector. The arrival of Rome arose ambivalent feelings amongst the elite, creating those typical symptoms of acceptance and resistance. The oligarchic past had witnessed monumental buildings such as a mighty stronghold, a prestigious, fortified residence, a porticoed building that may have been a gymnasium and, of course, the Attalid sanctuary of Cybele held in high esteem, with its marble stoas (perhaps located between the villages of Ballıhisar and Dinek).

As could have been expected, the artistic and architectural models for the prestigious colonnaded square came from the West, and more specifically from Miletus, Delos and Pergamum. Perhaps the Pessinuntian oligarchy (assuming they were actually the patrons) wanted to mimic the great buildings of western Asia Minor and

reconstruct the heydays of Pergamum in its architecture. All this could have been a warning to Rome, much as the publication of the royal correspondence in the latter part of the 1st century BC. On the other hand, the potential loss of power may have been nothing more than a fixation in the minds of the priests, and in reality the coming of Rome may not have changed anything at all. As Brunt has commented about oligarchies in the pre-Roman East:

> 'True independence had been rare in the past: most communities had been controlled by kings, or by some neighbouring state, and had at best been left to manage their internal affairs.'[173]

After Rome's power in Asia Minor was fully established, the Pessinuntian oligarchy must have felt somewhat threatened. The reaction of the priests may have been tolerated at first, but when the province of Galatia was created, their gaudy ways may well have become a thorn in Rome's side, as had happened when Battaces had visited Rome. If the apparent *tabula rasa* urbanism of the new provincial order was indeed symbolically charged, it must have been directed at the political class of the Pessinuntian priests, who had lost their privileges (Strabo 12.5.3), rather than the venerated cult of Cybele itself. It is, therefore, historically very unlikely that the Hellenistic buildings on the promontory were cult buildings related to the Mother of Gods instead of some kind of fortified residence connected with the clerical ruling class. Besides the erection of a new cult building, builders of the Roman era looked for new building sources much further away from what had been customary in Hellenistic Pessinus. The improved mobility of the Roman era combined with the need for new symbols of a young regime may have led to the theatre-temple complex of Pessinus.

Linking history and archaeology together is a risky undertaking which, more than anything, requires an open mind.[174] Sometimes, however, this reveals rigidity in our thinking and forces us to accept that historical reality in the light of archaeological data might be more complex than we would like it to be. In the case of Pessinus, it might even be unfair to history to reduce the discussion about the dedication of the excavated temple to a confrontation between Mater and the Emperor, as has been the case since the first reports by Lambrechts. The coins reveal that there were many other gods worshipped in Pessinus, such as Zeus, Aphrodite and Athena.[175] While we look at our pieces of information and try to process them, we should be truthful to our public and our peers by always accepting that archaeological information, even when shored up by ancient written testimony, may only be providing us with a naïve glimpse of a multi-faceted past.

Notes

* My utmost gratitude goes out to Prof. John Devreker, previous director of excavations, who enabled me to freely study the remains of the temple area in Ballıhisar during the summers of 2007 and 2008. The following persons may not be forgotten: Luc Bauters, for his priceless help with the study of the stratigraphy and wall structures, but also for reminding me of the dogmatic view that existed on the axiality of the stoa, Patrick Monsieur, for countless suggestions, including the 'gymnasium theory', Prof. Frank Vermeulen, for his continuing guidance, and Prof. G. Tsetskhladze (University of Melbourne), director of the 2009 campaign for permitting me to continue my field work.

1 For a comprehensive account of the environmental conditions and topography of Ballıhisar see Stoops 1984.

2 For preliminary observations from the campaigns directed by P. Lambrechts see Lambrechts 1967; 1968a; 1968b; 1969a; 1969b; 1970; 1971; 1972; 1973a; 1973b; 1974; also see Lambrechts et al. 1972. Annual preliminary reports of the excavations of the temple sector during J. Devreker's directorship can be consulted in the yearbooks of the province of East-Flanders, *Anatolia Antiqua* (Istanbul) and *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* (Ankara). For a (somewhat dated) overview of the excavations in the temple zone see Devreker et al. 1995.

3 Also see Waelkens 1984a.

4 Devreker 1984, 15, 17.

5 For all ancient testimonies mentioning Pessinus see Strubbe 2005, 233-257. For criticism on the theory which advocates the existence of a prestigious, prominent shrine to Cybele in Phrygian time Pessinus, see Roller 1999, 10. Also see Virgilio 1981, 64 n. 111.

6 Boffo 1985, 34-41; also see Debord 1982, 56-58; Lancellotti 2002, 47-48; Virgilio 1981.

7 Devreker 1984, 14; also see Hansen 1971, 29-31; Virgilio 1981, 57, 59 n. 99.

8 Devreker 1984, 14. Compare with Jones 1971; Olshausen in *Der Kleine Pauly*, Munich 1972, c. 667.

9 Boffo 1985, 36-37.

10 Roller 1999, 210. Also see Conze/Schazmann 1911; for a summary see Ohlemutz 1940, 174-181.

11 Diodorus Siculus 35.33.2; Livy 29.10.4-11.18; Valerius Maximus 8.15.2; Appian, *Roman History* 7.9.56; Cassius Dio 17.61.

12 Not all sources mention the role of Pessinus and Attalus in this event. For a discussion of the presumed role of Attalus and Pessinus in the retrieval of the *baetylus*, see Gruen 1990, 16-19; Hansen 1971, 50-51; Roller 1999, 193 n. 116.

13 Devreker 1984, 14-16.

14 Boffo 1985, 39; also see Virgilio 1981.

15 Some scholars doubt the existence of a monumental pre-Hellenistic sanctuary of Cybele in Pessinus since it was common to worship the Goddess in open-air rock cut shrines during this period. See De Francovich 1990. Compare with Strobel 2007.

16 Kosmetatou 2003.

17 For the Augustan phase of the canal see especially

Waelkens 1984c, 141.

18 The quarries from İstiklalbağı, about 10 km north of Pessinus, were frequently used from the Augustan period onwards, for instance for the construction of the canal and the Tiberian temple; De Paepe et al. 2004; Stoops 1984, 44.

19 Despite photographic evidence, I have not been able to localise this capital in the museum garden of Ballıhisar; it may have been left at the spot where it was found in 1994.

20 Coulton 1976, 90-91.

21 Coulton 1976, 125-127, figs 32 a, e-g, pl. 15.

22 The Mosque palm capital originally belonged to a circular column.

23 For a brief overview of the typology see Coulton 1976, 121-122, pl. 12-13, figs 28-30. Also see Wesenberg 1971, 44-49, Abb. 88-90.

24 Palm capitals have been attested in the following monuments: the Mausoleum for Lysimachus at Belevi near Ephesus (Rumscheid 1994b, 8, Taf. 15, 28.12, figs 8-9), the North-east stoa of the Sanctuary of Athena (reign of Eumenes II) (Rumscheid 1994b, 52, Taf. 113, 188.8, fig. 7) and the South stoa of the sanctuary of Demeter in Pergamum (probably dating from the reign of Eumenes II) (Rumscheid 1994b, 55, Taf. 119, 202.2, 203.2, figs 4, 6; Coulton 1976, 276, pl. 14), the stoas of Attalus II (Rumscheid 1994b, 89, Taf. 192, 363.18, fig. 5) and Eumenes II (Coulton 1976, pl. 12) in Athens and the south stoa of the agora in Assos from the reign of Eumenes II (Rumscheid 1994b, 7, Taf. 11, 21.7-8, figs 2-3; Coulton 1976, pl. 13).

25 See Vandeput 1997, 28 n. 49-50, 35, 89-90, 126-127, 211, 339, pl. 106.2. Also compare with some Augustan 'Flute-and-acanthus' capitals in Ephesus: Alzinger 1974, 74 fig. 118a, 78 figs 124-126.

26 This was suggested to me by Prof. Tamer Topal (Middle East Technical University; Department of Geological Engineering, Ankara).

27 These quarries were beyond doubt exploited extensively from the Julio-Claudian period onwards.

28 My hypothesis arose from the presence of a marble cornice used as part of the foundations of the presumed late-Hellenistic stoa (between trenches B7 and H1).

29 Waelkens 1984b, 73-74; also see De Francovich 1990, 196; Strobel 2007.

30 The earliest written document in Pessinus, a stamped handle of an amphora from Thasos, dates from the first half of the 3rd century and indicates the importation of wine. Evidence for Chian and Lesbian wine is also attested for the early Hellenistic period; Monsieur 2001, 74. Also see Monsieur/De Paepe 2002, 155.

31 Devreker et al. 2003b, 16-17, 339-341.

32 Devreker/Vermeulen 1996b, 67-70. These small-scaled wall structures (width: 0.7m) may be related to the oldest levels in sectors B and H to the south, for example B1-85, H4-3 (found beneath the northern stoa of the temple sector) and wall B6d-440; the last two structures were discovered in the summer campaign of 2008; they share the orientation that was typical for the 4th and 3rd century BC. (Preliminary Report 2008, forthcoming in *Anatolia Antiqua*).

33 For key dating elements see Devreker et al. 2005, 150; Devreker/Vermeulen 1995, 117-118; 1996a, 85, 89.

34 Devreker et al. 2003b, 348.

35 The walls are for the most part made up of irregular limestone blocks, variously with *emplecton* filling or massive. For an overview of the relevant wall perimeter structures (B3-16; B4-25; B4b-25; B5a-24/B2-35; B5b-78; B6-142) see Devreker et al. 2004, 83-85; 2005, 150-152; Devreker/Vermeulen 1995, 117-118; 1996a, 81-90.

36 Devreker/Vermeulen 1996a, 81 A similar shift in orientation can be seen in Sagalassos where the usual NW-SE orientation of the major monuments during the Hellenistic period changed towards a more outspoken north-south direction in the Imperial era. See Mitchell/Waelkens 1989, 67.

37 See Devreker/Vermeulen 1995, 117; 1996a, 87.

38 These decorative plaques echo traditional Phrygian citadel decoration, which was in turn marked by Greek influence.

39 Devreker et al. 1999, 105.

40 Compare with Devreker/Vermeulen 1998, 253.

41 The annexes that were probably built later might have been a *proteichisma*. *Proteichismata*, a series of defensive guard posts outside the perimeter of the actual fortress, were often used as barracks or storage rooms. See Lawrence 1979, 277.

42 The discovered architectural remains of late-Phrygian Pessinus, mostly concentrated to the north of the temple - although this may merely reflect the abundance of excavations in that area - are surprisingly scarce and of a small-scale. They all follow a SE-NW orientation. For Phrygian traces in the temple excavation area see Devreker et al. 1995, 131, 135; 2000, 109-111; 2002, 135, 137; 2003a, 143, 147; 2004, 86; Devreker/Vermeulen 1995, 113-115, 117; 1996a, 84-85; 1996b, 70; Thoen 2002, 152; Waelkens 1986, 59 n. 147.

43 For an overview of the letters and their historical context see Strubbe 2005, 13-37. Also see Devreker 1984, 16; Virgilio 1981, 106-109.

44 Rasmussen 2002, 162-163.

45 This view runs counter to the hypothesis of equality and friendship between the Attalid kings and the Pessinuntian oligarchy. See Debord 1982, 272; Devreker 1984, 16; Hansen 1971, 132; Virgilio 1981, 74-75, 94-95 n. 232, 128.

46 Boffo 1985, 41; also see Devreker 1984, 17; Dignas 2003, 231; Magie 1950, 170-171; Mitchell 1993, 48; Strubbe 2005, 248-250; Virgilio 1981, 122-124.

47 Also see Plutarch, *Marius* 17.5-6.

48 Lancellotti 2002, 102-103.

49 Strubbe 2005, 2.

50 Devreker/Vermeulen 1995, 122 fig. 11.5, 123. Given the lack of evidence, it is thought that Pessinus never had city walls, but instead benefited from a system of watchtowers for its defence. Waelkens 1984a, 52.

51 Waelkens 1984b, 74-75; Devreker et al. 2003b, 390.

52 Monsieur 2001, 75; Monsieur/De Paepe 2002, 158, 169-170.

53 This structure had already been partly excavated by Lambrechts. The lower levels were studied more carefully by F. Vermeulen. Cf. Devreker/Vermeulen 1996a. For a discussion of the pottery see Devreker/Vermeulen 1997, 128; Monsieur/De Paepe 2002, 158; Thoen 2002, 145-147.

54 A sewer system (B6-152) running from underneath the first gate to underneath the second clearly shows that both gates are contemporary. Devreker/Vermeulen 1997, 125 fig. 2, 127.

55 Devreker/Vermeulen 1996a, 87, 90 fig. 9. Devreker/Vermeulen 1997, 127, 128 fig. 5.

56 These artefacts were found between the temple temenos wall and wall B6-77.

57 The corresponding construction techniques between walls B6a-316 and B9-1 reinforce the suspicion that this

was the same wall. However, we cannot be absolutely sure since the stairway theatre and the later Bouleuterion have created a large hole in the zone in between. See Devreker et al. 2006, 121, figs 7-8.

58 The depth of the foundations of wall B6-77, measured underneath the threshold of the first phase, amounts to 4 m.

59 Vermeulen et al. 1998, 791.

60 Fortification walls in Rhamnous, Selinous and Phyle all have a breadth of roughly 2.5 m. Vitruvius (1.5.3) recommends that fortification walls need to be wide enough to allow armed men to pass each other easily. Lawrence 1979, 168; Mussche 1963, 37, 40; Pouilloux 1954.

61 Mussche 1963, 39; also see Wycherley 1949, 43.

62 Devreker/Vermeulen 1997, 127.

63 Compare with Thoen 2002, 152. Also see Pensabene 2004, 94-95, 99-100.

64 My observations of the walls (inserted into a Harris Matrix) have clearly shown that the barrack/terrace structure was earlier than the late Hellenistic building. Also see Devreker et al. 2007, 172 for a new analysis of the different phases of wall B6a-209 and its relationship to wall B6-77 of the fortress.

65 The structure was dug up by Lambrechts' team between 1970 and 1972. Lambrechts et al. 1972, 270-271; Waelkens 1984a, 52-53; 1986, 39, 43-44, 47.

66 Waelkens 1986, 43.

67 The rejection of Waelkens' statement is confirmed by L. Bauters' interpretation plan in Bauters et al. 2005, 83. Compare with Devreker et al. 2004, 91-93.

68 For a photo depicting the conditions in which the base was unearthed see Devreker/Waelkens 1984b, fig. 36.

69 Vitruvius 3.5.1; 5.9.3.

70 Waelkens 1984a, 53; 1986, 47.

71 See for example the two-storeyed portico of the Augustan sebasteion in Pisidian Antioch. Mitchell/ Waelkens 1998, 143-144. Also see Lyttelton 1987, 41. Attalid buildings often had two storeys; the syntaxis is always Ionic on top of Doric. E.g. the propylon of the Athena precinct in Pergamum; the stoa of Eumenes II in Athens. Cf. Akurgal 1969, 26, 78.

72 Waelkens 1986, 39.

73 It is common for friezes to be omitted in Ionic architecture. See Curl 2006, 296. The lack of a frieze is frequently attested in Asia Minor and the Greek world. Cf. the Hellenistic Leonidaion in Olympia (Hoepfner 1996, 3, 35-36, 39, Abb. 1, 29) and the 4th century temple of Athena in Priene (Akurgal 1969, 189-190, fig. 69).

74 Wider intercolumniations became increasingly popular in Late Hellenistic architecture in Asia Minor. As a result architects came up with various solutions to decrease the weight of the entablature. See Akurgal 1969, 182-183.

75 Von Gerkan/Krischen 1928, 4, 11, Abb. 12.

76 Araeostyle Doric stoas gained popularity during the late-Hellenistic period. Some second century examples: the northwest stoa in Aigai, the lower agora in Pergamum, the stoa of Lykosoura and the stoa near the stadium in Messene. See Coulton 1976, 213, 252-253, 257-258, 271.

77 The interaxial distance of the eastern stylobate is ca 2.45 m (i.e. an intercolumniation of ca. 4 times the lower column diameter); in the southern portico this distance amounts to 2.65 m.

78 Of course, a great deal of the retrieved wood must have belonged to the framework of the roof. See Devreker et al. 2003a, 143.

79 In reality, quite a few araeostyle colonnades had stone entablatures. For example, the portico in the Lower Agora (175-150 BC) in Pergamum included a Doric colonnade with lower shaft diameters and intercolumniations almost identical to those of the Pessinuntian building. What is more, not only did the Pergamene portico have a stone entablature, it also carried a second storey.

80 See Vitruvius 5.1.1-2: '[…] Gladiatorial shows should be given in the forum. Therefore let the intercolumniations round the show place be pretty wide.' (translation by M.H. Morgan)

81 Hence, even though the corresponding amount of intervals is correct, the hypothesis that there were twelve 'columns' on the east side, as noted in Devreker et al. 2001, 63 should be disregarded.

82 Also consult Devreker et al. 2004, 92.

83 Lambrechts had already touched upon this wall, yet, in his day, it was never completely uncovered and registered.

84 We know that these blocks are part of the wall above the stylobate level since the level of their underside is equal to the level of the stylobate surface. Therefore, they are not to be seen as e.g. foundations for an inner colonnade (an inner colonnade would not require such robust foundations since the stress of the roof would be transmitted to the outer sections of the stoa, i.e. the inner courtyard stylobate and the back wall).

85 See Vitruvius 5.9.3-4 for his recommendations for the proportions of Ionic and Doric colonnades. Even though my suggestion is purely theoretical, a height of merely 2 m for the Doric columns of the eastern side, as proposed in Devreker et al. 2001, 63, would have conveyed a stubby and completely disproportionate appearance.

86 Devreker et al. 2002, 137; 2003a, 149, 151.

87 Coulton 1976, 146. Also see Smith/Ratté 1998, 235; Winter 2006, 65.

88 See Devreker et al. 2003a, 149.

89 Only two of the presumed six Ionic column bases have been retrieved in Ballıhisar; besides the one found on the northern stylobate, one was identified in a Byzantine wall (built over Roman terrace wall B6a-323). If the northern side was as long as 32 m (cf. Waelkens 1986), it would seem odd that only two bases were found. In the case of six columns, it appears more understandable that only two had been retrieved.

90 Vitruvius 6.7.3.

91 Katzoff 1986, I11. 1.

92 See Kleiner 1968, 91-92, Abb. 63; Von Gerkan/Krischen 1928, 1-22, Taf. V-VI. Compare with Akurgal 1969, 211, 213, 217; Delorme 1960, 130; Winter 2006, 173, 402, figs 290-291; Wycherley 1949, 151.

93 Kleiner 1968, 77-88, Abb. 52-56, 59.

94 Boehringer/Krauss 1937, 87-88; Von Gerkan/Rehm 1925, 86; Kleiner 1968, 43-45, Abb.25.

95 See Yegül 1982, 16 n. 46.

96 Boehringer/Krauss 1937, 70.

97 Boehringer/Krauss 1937, Taf. 69. In comparison, the inner courtyard of the *palaestra* in the gymnasium of Miletus measured 18.6 x 32.4 m.

98 Boehringer/Krauss 1937, 71 Abb. 16, 18.

99 Boehringer/Krauss 1937, Taf. 42b.

100 Boehringer/Krauss 1937, 67 Abb. 16.

101 In the case of Pergamum: 0.31 m (=lower radius) x 15 = 4.66 m. See Boehringer/Krauss 1937, 61 Abb. 7.

102 Boehringer/Krauss 1937, 35.

103 Boehringer/Krauss 1937, Abb. 8-10, 14, 16, Taf. 42, d-e.

[104] Devreker et al. 2000, 107, 109; Devreker et al. 2003a, 147; Waelkens 1986, 59.
[105] Laken 2004; 2007.
[106] Laken 2007, 185.
[107] For example, compare with the Hypogeum of the Three Brothers (dated by inscriptions to the 2nd century AD). Bounni/Al-As'ad 1987, 98, 100.
[108] As a matter of fact, no publication on the colonnaded square has reported the second layer, even though it is crucial for interpretation. Published profile drawings of the colonnaded square show only one burnt layer. See Devreker et al. 2002, 139, fig. 9; 2003a, 148, 150. For more arguments advocating a late-Hellenistic date see Bauters et al. 2004.
[109] Lambrechts 1971, 257; also see Devreker/Waelkens 1984b, 23 fig. 40.
[110] Pensabene 2004, 110. Also see Vasdaris 1992, I: 103, 169, 218, n. 154; II: 183, 251.
[111] Rumscheid 1994, 90, Taf. 193, 365.194, figs. 4-5. Also see Pensabene (2004, 109-110) who compares the dentil frieze with Hellenistic, second century examples from Miletus (the eastern portico form the Northern Agora) and Priene (the Sacred Stoa).
[112] Pensabene 2004, 110.
[113] Devreker et al. 2001, 61-64; also see Strubbe 2006, 115.
[114] I realise that the analogy with Miletus for an identification as gymnasium might be dangerous. As Senseney points out, the *quadriporticus* as a typology was adaptable to many functions; Senseney 2002, 4 n. 7, 73. Moreover, we should heed Boehringer's criticism on the identification of the Milesian structure as a gymnasium, induced by the lack of rooms and facilities connected to the building; Boehringer 1937, 82 n. 5.
[115] *Palaestrae*, used for boxing and wrestling, were generally unpaved. Delorme 1960, 377; Katzoff 1986, 440.
[116] P. Monsieur (Ghent University) has suggested to me that the jar-amphorae and small, ball-shaped alabastra that abound in the destruction layer of the square may well have been oil containers. According to Monsieur, the explosion of the oil as a result of the fire could explain why these small amphoras were all reduced to tiny shards. Obviously, oil would have been a necessary commodity in a gymnasium/*palaestra* context.
[117] See Vitruvius 5.11; Kirk 1935, 224.
[118] Especially Attalus I who was the first formal king of Pergamum. Boehringer/Krauss 1937, 86.
[119] Yegül 1982.
[120] For a brief discussion of the chronology of the temple see Devreker et al. 1995, 138.
[121] Stone blocks of the old citadel walls (e.g. B4-25) were identified in the filling of the temple foundations. Devreker et al. 2005, 150.
[122] Devreker et al. 1995, 137-141; Lambrechts et al. 1972, 160-165; Thoen 1984. For an analysis of the issues concerning the specific year of dedication see Strubbe 2006.
[123] Lambrechts et al. 1972; Waelkens 1986, 67-72. For a recent overview of the problems concerning the identification of the temple see Strubbe 2006.
[124] Burrell 2004, 170 n. 42; Price 1984, 268 nr 112.
[125] De Francovich 1990; Pensabene 2004. For a rejection of De Francovich's theory see Devreker et al. 1995.
[126] Stoops 1984, 43-44.
[127] Stoops 1984, 42-43.
[128] Hanson 1959.
[129] The examples that Hanson cites are the sanctuaries of Gabii (200 BC), Tivoli (88-82 BC) and Cagliari (3rd or 2nd century BC). Hanson 1959, 29, 31-33, 36, 67, figs 5-8. To this list the sanctuary of Pietrabbondante (150-100 BC) should be added; Strazzulla 1972.
[130] Hanson 1959, 113-115.
[131] Pensabene 2004, 83, 135.
[132] For the notion of the so-called 'Cybele effect' see Devreker et al. 1995, 137 n. 33.
[133] Mitchell 1993, 103, 104 n. 30, 116; also see Devreker et al. 1995, 129; Strubbe 2006, 114, 119.
[134] Hanson 1959, 29, 43-55. For the theatre of Pompey as a symbol of the glorification of its builder see Zanker 1990, 21, 24, 144, 147, fig. 16. For a recent analysis of the theatre see Gagliardo/Packer 2006.
[135] Mert 2002. The identification as a Sebasteion is established by inscriptions. Price (1984, 268 nr 112) and Waelkens (1986, 71) allege that the Pessinuntian sanctuary is the only one of its kind to show an alignment of theatre and temple in Asia Minor. Obviously, the example of Stratonicea makes this claim invalid.
[136] Strubbe 2006, 109.
[137] Clauss 1999, 333-334; also see Price 1984, 88-89, 106-107, 116; Robert 1940, 270-280; Strubbe 2006, 109-110.
[138] For the erection of an *agalma* by M. Lollius in Pessinus, identified as a cult statue of the emperor by Waelkens, see Waelkens 1986, 69. Also see Strubbe 2005, 109.
[139] Price 1984, 104, 109, 189, 211.
[140] Pensabene 2004, 133.
[141] Verhaeghe 1995, 35.
[142] The distance between the two wings is 11-12 m.
[143] For the combination of naos and elitist *theatron* in the sanctuaries of Dura Europos, see Downey 1976; 1988, 128; Hanson 1959, 65, 66, fig. 29. For the sanctuaries of Sia' and Sahr al Lagat, both with small stepped *theatra* in front of the temple, see Downey 1988, 136; Hanson 1959, 66; Kalos 2003; Steinsapir 2005, 12-24. For the theatre in front of the naos in the Great Temple of Petra see Joukowsky 1998; Joukowsky/Basile 2001, 46 fig. 3. It should be noted that the small *theatron* structure of Petra had an ellipsoid cavea shape which was strikingly more western in appearance than any of the other mentioned examples.
[144] For a discussion on the function of the Great Temple in view of the presence of the *theatron*, see Joukowsky/Basile 2001, 51-54.
[145] In the light of morphological idiosyncrasy, the discussed bases of the northern stoa also come to mind.
[146] On the inclination of the elite to resist Romanisation see Whittaker 1997, 149. Also consult Hingly 1997.
[147] Gebhard 1975; Golvin 1988, 239-242; Welch 1998, 121-127.
[148] Vitruvius 5.9.1.
[149] Kirk 1935.
[150] Burrell 2004, 171 n. 51; also see De Francovich 1990, 199. There is no archaeological evidence for the existence of a podium wall or a *scaenae frons*.
[151] This terrace wall is crucial for the understanding of the Roman sanctuary. See Devreker et al. 2002, 135; 2003a, 144-146; 2004, 86.
[152] Unfortunately, information on the western orchestra is non-existent since this zone was built over with a new small theatre, probably in the 3rd century AD. See Waelkens 1986, 43.
[153] Waelkens 1986, 59.
[154] For evidence of the fact that not just the elite, but also the masses participated in the imperial festivals, see Price 1984, 101-114.
[155] See Price 1984, 109 n. 151.
[156] Welch 2007, 56, figs 27, 29.
[157] It is wrong to think that wooden theatres were a thing

from the Republican past. See for example the ritual wooden theatre in Gosbecks (near Colchester-Camulodunum), built during Hadrian or Antoninus Pius. Dunnett/Reece 1971, 34. In Londinium the Flavian theatre consisted entirely of timber; in Hadrianic times it was renovated partly in masonry yet the seating structure remained a wooden superstructure. See Bateman 1997.

[158] Since in middle-Roman and Byzantine times the whole area in front of the theatre was respectively re-monumentalised and overbuilt, most traces such as post holes may have been obliterated during the process.

[159] Stoops 1984, 42.

[160] Louis 1939.

[161] Compare with the arguments of Boehringer (1937, 85) pertaining to the identification of the quadriporticus complex in Pergamum as built for the newly founded Attalid dynasty. Since the complex was built on top of luxurious Hellenistic houses, it may have served for the cult of the new element of power, i.e. Attalid rulership.

[162] In this regard it is relevant to mention J. Süss' observation that in imperial times there were no more temples built on hills, except for temples of the imperial cult which represent the only category that still enjoyed this privilege. Süss 2003, 262.

[163] Strubbe 2006, 111.

[164] See Hanson 1997, 76 quoting Fishwick (1978). Also see Hingly 1997, 83.

[165] Süss 2003, 263-265.

[166] IGRR III 230. Also see Burrell 2004, 171; Devreker 1984, 20; Strubbe 2005, 31-34; 2006, 116-117.

[167] Mitchell 1987, 342.

[168] Devreker/Vermeulen 1997, 127.

[169] Zanker 1990, 24.

[170] Welch 2007, 131, 133, 147-148.

[171] Zanker 1990, 20-21. Also see Hanson 1959, 18-25; Welch 2007.

[172] Kosmetatou 2003, 162.

[173] Brunt 1974, 164.

[174] Compare with the comments made by Barrett 1997.

[175] Devreker/Waelkens 1984a, 24.

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Die Rekonstruktion der Holz-Erde-Mauer des Römerlagers Oberaden

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Abstract

The aim of this research is to reconstruct the outer appearance of the defences of the Bergkamen-Oberaden legionary fortress. The research project was prompted by plans for a full scale reconstruction of part of the northern defences in situ*, comprising a 40 meters long section of the rampart as well as two interval towers. For this reason, the research focuses both on the rampart and the interval towers. Other elements of the fortress' defence system, such as the gates, will be addressed in future research.*
*Within the group of military defences built in the North-western region of the Roman empire during the Augustan era and the following century, the ground traces found in Oberaden follow a common pattern. This 'footprint' indicates that the rampart consisted of an earthen wall raised between two vertically placed revetments made of timber (i.e. Holz-Erde-Mauer). What the rampart and the interval towers looked like in more detail was examined through an analysis of a variety of sources ranging from ground traces and material remains of the Oberaden defences and of other sites, to information provided by literary sources such as Caesar and Vegetius. The relatively rare remains of the wooden revetment found in Oberaden en Valkenburg were particularly helpful. Considerations regarding the function of the defences and reflections on structural aspects and building practice also played a significant role in the reconstruction process.**

Im Jahre 2005 beauftragte der Verein der Freunde und Förderer des Stadtmuseums Bergkamen e.V. den Verfasser mit einer Studie zum Erscheinungsbild der Holz-Erde-Mauer des Römerlagers Oberaden. Anlass war die Initiative, einen Teil der nördlichen Umwehrung einschließlich zwei Zwischentürmen an der ursprünglichen Stelle und so genau wie möglich nach dem im Spätsommer 11 v. Chr. errichteten Original wieder aufzubauen (*Abb. 1*). Deshalb standen auch diese beiden Elemente, die Wehrmauer und die Zwischentürme, im Zentrum der Untersuchung. Der Lagergraben, der ebenfalls am Ort rekonstruiert werden soll, konnte bei der hier präsentierten Untersuchung außer Betracht bleiben, da dessen Profil bereits während der Ausgrabungen festgestellt wurde.[1] Es ist beabsichtigt, in einer nächsten Phase die Erscheinungsform der Tore zu untersuchen.

Diese Rekonstruktionsforschung hat aus dem gemeinsamen Bestreben von Auftraggeber und Auftragnehmer heraus stattgefunden, ein Ergebnis zu erzielen, dass - soweit möglich - bis ins Detail mit Argumenten untermauert ist. Dazu wurde zunächst der Oberadener Befund analysiert, wie er zuletzt und vor allem von Johann-Sebastian Kühlborn untersucht und publiziert wurde (*Abb. 2*).[2] Von besonderer Bedeutung im Hinblick auf unser Ziel waren die Holzreste der Wehrmauer, auf die Kropatscheck und spätere Forscher stießen und denen Oberaden eine besondere Bedeutung verdankt. Gerade sie boten nämlich die Möglichkeit, bis in die Details der Holz-Erde-Mauer vorzudringen. Um zu einem größeren Verständnis des Oberadener Befundes und dieses Bautypus im Allgemeinen zu gelangen, wurde die Holz-Erde-Mauer von Oberaden im Zusammenhang mit andernorts errichteten vergleichbaren Konstruktionen untersucht. Ein großer Teil davon datiert ebenso wie das Lager Oberaden in die augusteische Zeit, aber auch spätere Beispiele sind Bestandteil dieser Analyse.

Einführung

Die Holz-Erde-Mauer von Oberaden repräsentiert den auf deutschem und niederländischem Boden am meisten verbreiteten Typus der mit Holz verschalten Wehrmauer, nämlich die Ausführung mit einer Innen- und Außenverschalung, den sogenannten Doppelpalisadenwall. In der frühkaiserzeitlichen Periode wurden auch einschalige Holz-Erde-Mauern gebaut, wie im augusteischen Kastell II Periode 1 von Moers-Asberg und im ebenfalls augusteischen Lager Neuss C.[3] Bei dieser Gruppe war die zur Lagerseite hin gelegene, manchmal mit Rasensoden stabilisierte Seite abgeböscht.[4] Neben Holz-Erde-Mauern wurden auch Rasensodenmauern sowie hybride Zwischenformen gebaut.[5] Vor-

Abb. 1. Römerlager Oberaden. Endergebnis der Forschung: die virtuelle Rekonstruktion der Holz-Erde-Mauer (Rekonstruktion Kees Peterse, Computerstill Gerard Jonker – © PANSA BV).

bilder sind das im Jahre 39/40 n. Chr. angelegte Kastell Valkenburg Periode 1 bzw. das frühflavische Kastell III von Rottweil.[6] Während in Deutschland und den Niederlanden mit Holz verschalte Wehrmauern am häufigsten vorkamen, überwogen in Großbritannien gerade die Rasensodenmauern.[7] Michael Jones und Anne Johnson brachten diesen Unterschied in Zusammenhang mit der Verfügbarkeit von Baumaterialien.[8] Das scheint plausibel, auch weil diese Sichtweise an das anschließt, was Vitruv in Bezug auf den Materialgebrauch von Befestigungswerken bemerkt:

> 'Was nun die Mauer selbst angeht, so kann man deshalb nicht vorausbestimmen, aus welchem Material sie errichtet und ausgeführt werden soll, weil wir nicht überall die Baustoffe haben können, die wir wünschen.' (1.5.8)[9]

Übrigens gehörten fast alle bisher bekannten Holz-Erde-Mauern zu einem Militärlager. Mit den Ausgrabungen der spätaugusteischen Stadtgründung Lahnau-Waldgirmes zeigt sich aber, dass Holz-Erde-Mauern auch im zivilen Kontext vorkamen.[10]

Bevor wir zur Rekonstruktionsanalyse übergehen, soll zur Verdeutlichung ein allgemeines Bild skizziert werden (*Abb. 3*).[11] Eine zweischalige Holz-Erde-Mauer bestand aus einem zwischen zwei parallelen Holzverschalungen aufgeworfenen Wall. Die Verschalung war eine zusammengestellte Konstruktion, die aus in einigem Abstand von einander aufgestellten Standpfosten bestand, an denen auf der Wallseite eine Holzverkleidung aus Brettern oder Bohlen befestigt war.[12] Dank der Holzverschalung konnte der Wall auf beiden Längsseiten vertikal beendet und der Erdkörper vor Witterungseinflüsse geschützt werden. Die Wehrmauer bildete gleichzeitig eine physische Barriere gegen anstürmende Truppen und eine erhöhte Plattform, den Wehrgang, für die Verteidigung des Militärlagers.[13] Dabei bot eine Brustwehr mit Zinnen Schutz.[14] Die Erdfüllung hatte eine dreifache Funktion: Sie erhöhte den Widerstand gegen mechanischen Anprall (Sturmböcke und Geschosse), erschwerte es dem Feind, die Umwehrung zu untergraben und verschaffte

Abb. 2. Römerlager Oberaden. Bodenspuren des zu rekonstruierenden Teils der nördlichen Umwehrung (Grabung Johann-Sebastian Kühlborn).

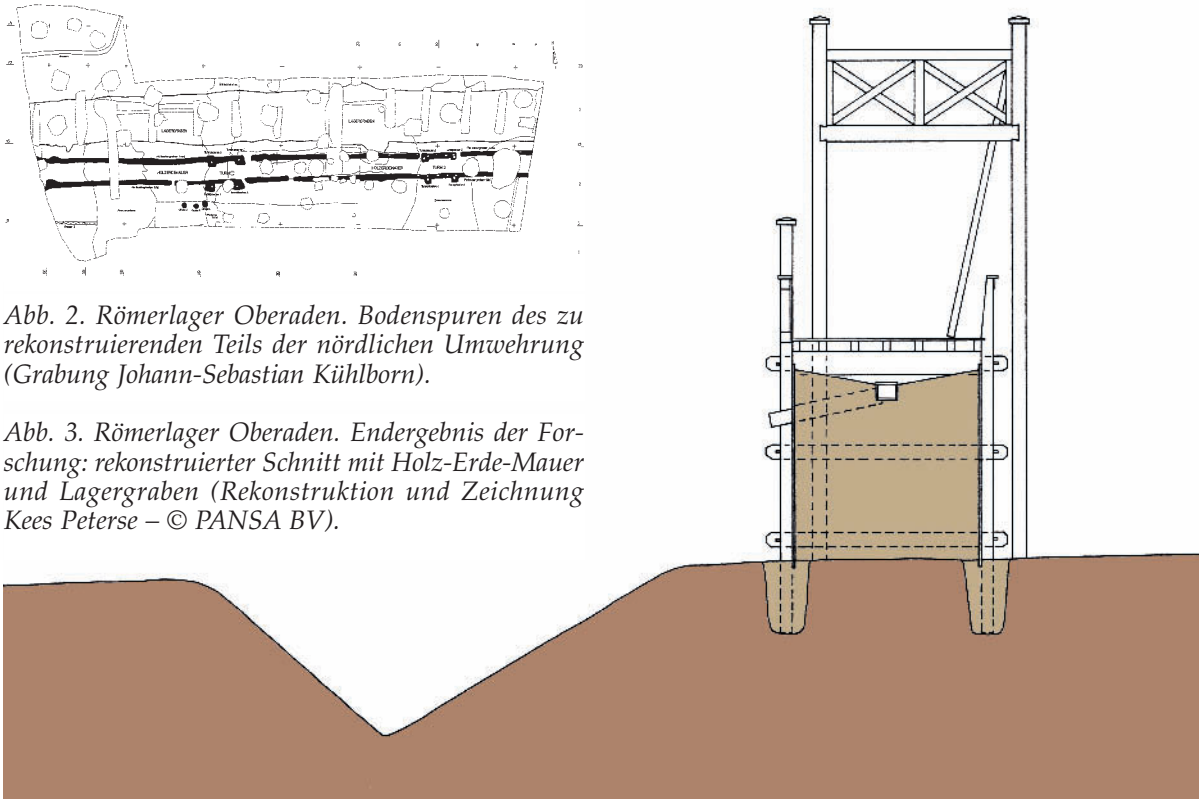

Abb. 3. Römerlager Oberaden. Endergebnis der Forschung: rekonstruierter Schnitt mit Holz-Erde-Mauer und Lagergraben (Rekonstruktion und Zeichnung Kees Peterse – © PANSA BV).

der Wehrmauer den notwendigen Brandschutz.[15] Der Wall wurde aus der Erde aufgeschüttet, die beim Ausheben eines oder mehrerer, oftmals V-förmigen Lagergräben anfiel.[16] Die Gräben sollten gewährleisten, dass feindliche Truppen nicht in organisierter Formation bis an den Wall gelangen konnten und auch eventuelle Belagerungsmaschinen auf Abstand gehalten wurden.[17] Um zu verhindern, dass der Feind den Lagergraben stellenweise einfach verfüllen konnte, war eine bestimmte Tiefe erforderlich.[18] In der Holz-Erde-Mauer standen in regelmäßigem Abstand Türme, und der Wall war an mehreren Stellen von einem Torbau unterbrochen.

Die Erscheinungsform der Holz-Erde-Mauer wird von funktionaler, auf die Kriegsführung bezogene Anforderungen geprägt gewesen sein. Diese galten im Prinzip gleichermaßen für alle Holz-Erde-Mauern. Die gebaute Antwort auf diese Anforderungen wird logischerweise in hohem Maße einheitlich gewesen sein, sodass es nahe liegt, dass Holz-Erde-Mauern in Hauptzügen untereinander vergleichbar waren. Das bedeutet nicht, dass die funktionale Form dann auch per Definition überall auf die gleiche Weise praktisch umgesetzt worden sein muss. So zeigt sich bei einer ersten Sichtung der archäologischen Spuren, dass Holz-Erde-Mauern nicht alle auf identische Weise in den Boden eingelassen wurden, und dass der Abstand zwischen den Standpfosten der Holzverschalung, gemessen in Richtung der Umwehrung, nicht konstant war.

Obschon diese Rekonstruktionsstudie Oberaden gewidmet ist und nicht zweischaligen Holz-Erde-Mauern im Allgemeinen, wird auch anderweitiger Befund untersucht, insofern dies dem Ziel der vorliegenden Forschung dienlich ist. Der Oberadener Befund ist zwar vollständiger als die meisten anderen Holz-Erde-Mauern, aber nicht so vollständig, als dass das Erscheinungsbild der Holz-Erde-Mauer bis in alle Details daraus abgeleitet werden könnte. Die fehlenden Informationen sollen durch eine Gegenüberstellung mit den Befunden anderer Holz-Erde-Mauern gewonnen werden. Es stellt sich allerdings die Frage, ob dies in Anbetracht der oben angeführten Unterschiede in der Ausführung ohne Weiteres gerechtfertigt ist. Dieser Frage soll im Folgenden als Erste nachgegangen werden, und zwar in Form einer vergleichenden Untersuchung der für Holz-Erde-Mauern charakteristischen Bodenspuren. Nur diese Spuren sind bei so vielen Holz-Erde-Mauern erhalten geblieben, dass eine Aussage über den Grad der Vergleichbarkeit untereinander gemacht werden

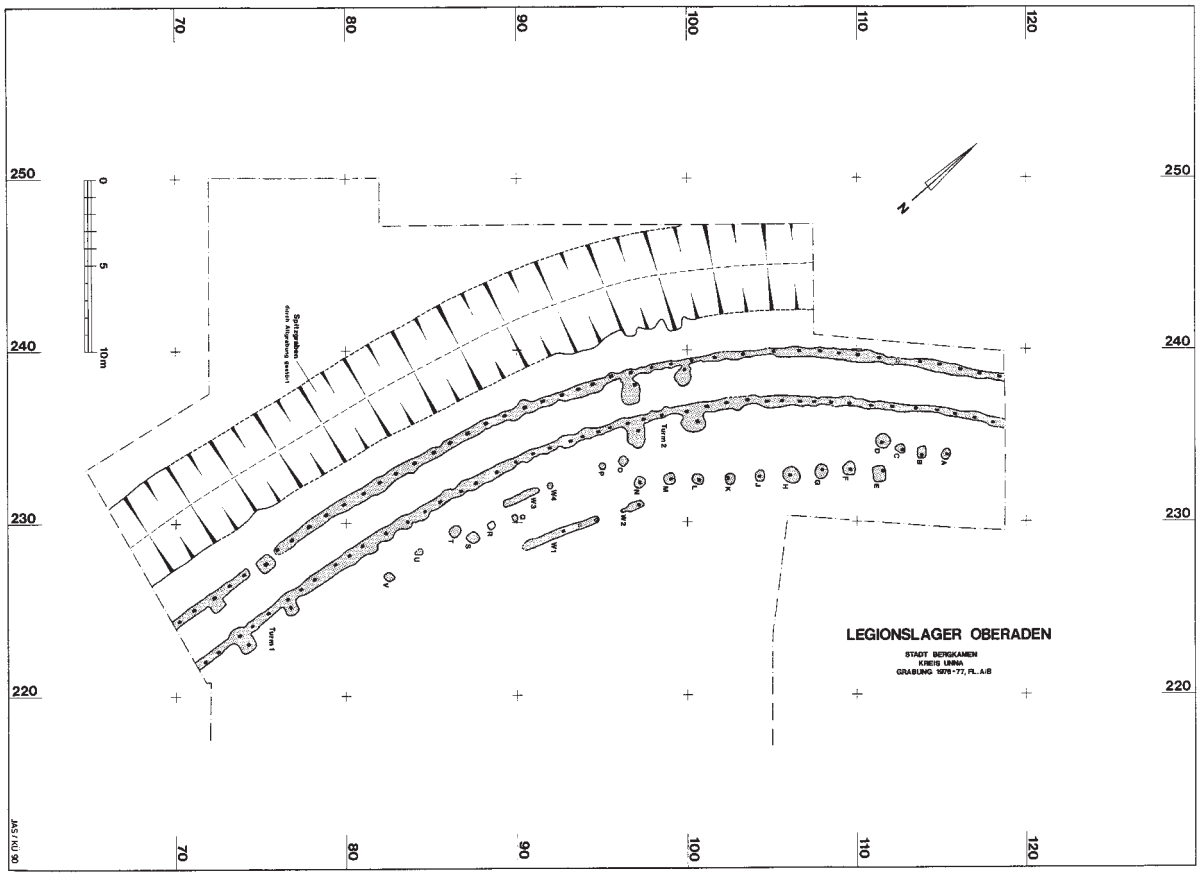

Abb. 4. Römerlager Oberaden. Bodenspuren der westlichen Umwehrung nahe Turm 2 (Kühlborn 1992).

kann. Das Hauptaugenmerk soll dabei darauf liegen, Konstanten und Variablen zu erkennen und zu erklären.

Konstanten und Variablen bei den Bodenspuren

Die ehemalige Anwesenheit einer Holz-Erde-Mauer lässt sich anhand charakteristischer Spuren nachweisen, einem *footprint* (*Abb. 4*). Meistens handelt es sich dabei um zwei parallel angelegte Pfostengräben oder zwei parallele Reihen von Pfostengruben.[19] In vielen Fällen sind die Standpfosten zwar verrottet, ihre Position und Maße können jedoch noch anhand der dunkelfarbigen Pfostenlöcher ermittelt werden. Nur in Ausnahmefällen, wie in Oberaden und Valkenburg, wurden bei den Ausgrabungen Teile der Standpfosten sowie andere Holzreste gefunden.

Dort, wo die Standpfosten als Pfostenloch oder Holzfund erhalten sind, kann die exakte Breite der Holz-Erde-Mauer gemessen werden. Man geht dabei zunächst vom Außenabstand zwischen zwei einander gegenüber stehenden Pfosten aus. In der Vergangenheit wurde bereits festgestellt, dass diese Anlagebreite von Holz-Erde-Mauern sich einem konstanten Wert von circa 3 m annähern.[20] Das gilt auch für Oberaden. Kühlborn hat eine Anlagebreite von 2,95 bis 3,20 m gemessen, wobei er den kleineren Wert als beabsichtigt betrachtet.[21] Bereits in der Vergangenheit wurde hieraus geschlussfolgert, dass Holz-Erde-Mauern offensichtlich nach einem Normal- oder Idealmaß von 10 römischen Fuß (theoretisch 2,96 m) angelegt wurden.[22] Auch Caesar erwähnte ein Maß von 10 römischen Fuß, nämlich für die Breite eines Erdwalls in Höhe des Wehrgangs.[23] Warum gerade dieses Maß gewählt wurde, hat nach Meinung des Verfassers zwei Gründe. Einerseits ergaben sich Rahmenbedingungen aufgrund der Nutzung. Im Zusammenhang mit steinernen Befestigungen nennt Vitruv die praktische Forderung, dass zwei Bewaffnete auf der Mauer nebeneinander passieren können müssen.[24] Aber Vitruv sagt auch:

> ‘Ferner muss an der inneren Seite dieses Unterbaues ein zweites Fundament errichtet werden in so weitem Abstand von den äußeren nach

innen zu, dass sich Kohorten wie in Schlachtordnung aufgestellt zur Verteidigung oben auf der Breite des Walles aufstellen können.' (1.5.7)[25]

Es ist vorstellbar, dass an diese Rahmenbedingungen ein Mindestwert verknüpft war, der auf Erfahrung basierte. Dies wird von Vitruv allerdings nicht erwähnt. In der modernen Literatur geht man von einer Mindestbreite zwischen 1,5 und 2,0 m aus.[26] Das größere Maß wurde von Brian Hobley bei der Rekonstruktion der neronisch-vespasianischen Rasensodenmauer von Kastell The Lunt in Baginton angewandt.[27] Für die Breite des Wehrganges des steinernen Lagers von Chester aus dem zweiten Jahrhundert nimmt David Mason 1,8 m an.[28] Es entsteht der Eindruck, dass nur in Bezug auf die Nutzung auch ein Wert kleiner als 3 m ausreichend gewesen wäre. Ein klarer Hinweis darauf findet sich in *De munitionibus castrorum*. Bei der Beschreibung einer Rasensodenmauer mit bescheidener Brustwehr gibt Pseudo-Hygin eine Breite von 8 Fuß (2,37 m) für den Wehrgang an.[29]

Aufgrund des gerade Erwähnten lässt sich vermuten, dass die für die zweiseitig verschalte Holz-Erde-Mauer fast als Standard zu betrachtende Breite von 10 römischen Fuß noch von einem weiteren Faktor beeinflusst wurde. Der Verfasser ist der Auffassung, dass dies die Stabilität der Konstruktion ist. Je schlanker die Wehrmauer war, desto mehr nahm die Kohäsion des Erdwalles ab und das Risiko des Schwankens der Konstruktion als Ganzes zu. Dass dieses Risiko nicht nur in der Theorie bestand, zeigt sich im Oberadener Befund. Aus dem Schiefstand einer Gruppe von Standpfosten hat Kühlborn abgeleitet, dass die Holz-Erde-Mauer an dieser Stelle Schlagseite in Richtung des Lagergrabens bekommen hat.[30] Indem man bei gleichbleibender Höhe des Erdwalls dessen Breite vergrößerte, erhielt man eine stabilere Konstruktion. Das Breitenmaß von 10 römischen Fuß wäre damit auch eine Antwort auf die Höhe der Erdaufschüttung im Innern der Wehrmauer.

Wenn der *footprint* einer Holz-Erde-Mauer nur aus den Spuren von Fundamentgräben oder -gruben besteht, kann die Anlagebreite nur annährend bestimmt werden. Ein Beispiel dafür ist die augusteische Befestigungslinie A-A' von Vetera. Dort betrug der Abstand zwischen den Außenrändern der beiden Gräben circa 3,5 m, der Abstand zwischen den Innenrändern nach Hans Lehmann 1,5 m.[31] Trotzdem geht er davon aus, dass die betreffende Holz-Erde-Mauer die 'normale Breite' aufwies, womit er rund 3,0 m bzw. 10 römische Fuß meint.[32] Das impliziert, dass die Holzverschalung nicht exakt in der Mitte der Fundamentgräben stand, sondern mehr an der Außenseite. Eine derartige exzentrische Platzierung schließt an die Befunde von Oberaden und Lahnau-Waldgirmes an und ist daher keinesfalls inakzeptabel.[33] Einen analogen Fall stellt das augusteische Uferkastell Beckinghausen dar, wo für den außen- und innenseitigen Abstand der Fundamentgräben 3,2 m bzw. 2,2 m festgestellt wurden.[34]

Nur in Einzelfällen wich man vom Maß von 10 römischen Fuß ab, wie bei dem augusteischen Lager Dangstetten (4,50 m),[35] dem Kastell Oberstimm Periode 1 (3,25 m),[36] dass die Zeitspanne von etwa 40 bis zu dem Bataveraufstand umfasst,[37] sowie beim hadrianischen Kastell Künzing Periode 2 (Innenmaß 4,30 m).[38]

Die Standardisierung in der Anlagebreite ist ein Indiz dafür, dass die Holz-Erde-Mauern, jedenfalls was ihre Hauptform anbelangt, miteinander verwandt waren. Weitere Beobachtungen sprechen dafür, dass die Holz-Erde-Mauern auch in der Ausführung im Detail Konstanten kannten. So korrespondierten die Standpfosten in der Außen-

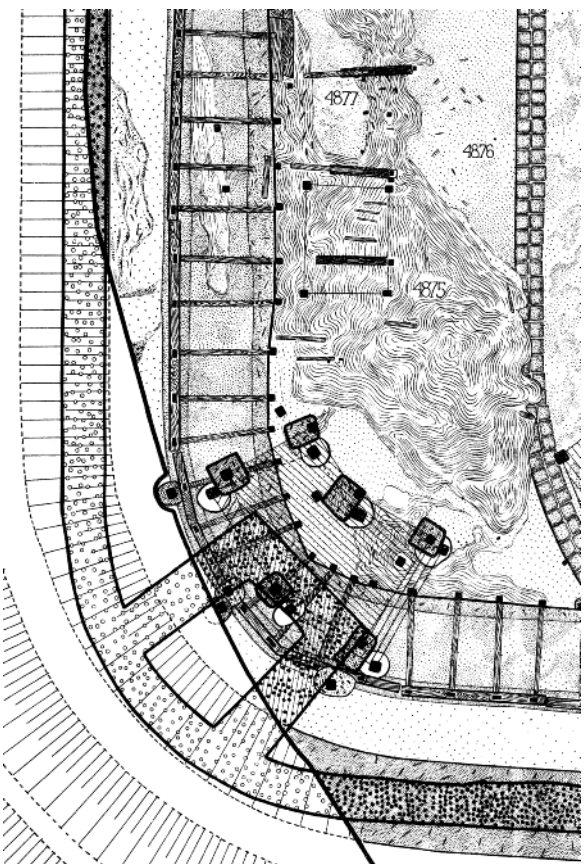

Abb. 5. Valkenburg Kastell Periode 2. In den Ecken stehen die Standpfosten der Innenverschalung gedrängter (Van Giffen 1948).

verschalung mit den Standpfosten der Innenverschalung, sodass Paare geformt wurden. Diese Entsprechung bestand auch in den abgerundeten Ecken der Umwehrung. Dafür platzierte man in den Kurven die Pfosten der Innenverschalung dichter beieinander (*Abb. 5*).[39] Die paarweise Errichtung der Standpfosten scheint nur dann sinnvoll, wenn zwei einander gegenüber stehende Standpfosten miteinander verbunden waren. Diese Verbindung war auch notwendig, nämlich um zu verhindern, dass die beiden Holzverschalungen als Folge der vom Erdwall resultierenden, nach außen gerichteten Belastung auseinander gedrückt wurden (*Abb. 6*).[40] Die Verbindung bestand also aus einem Zugbalken, faktisch mehreren Zugbalken übereinander, wie wir später noch sehen werden. Für die vielleicht kurz nach der Varusschlacht errichtete Holz-Erde-Mauer des Kastells II Periode 2 von Moers-Asberg ist das Vorhandensein von zwischen korrespondierenden Standpfosten angebrachten Zugbalken anhand von Bodenverfärbungen nachgewiesen worden, während bei der claudischen Holz-Erde-Mauer von Valkenburg Periode 2 Zugbalken als Holzfunde *in situ* gefunden wurden.[41] An anderen Orten wird die Anwesenheit von Zugbalken vermutet, so auch in Oberaden.[42] Zwei korrespondierende Standpfosten mit einem dazwischen angebrachten Zugbalken bildeten gemeinsam ein Gebinde. Das allgemeine Vorkommen einer korrespondierenden Außen- und Innenverschalung und die Erkenntnis, dass die Konstruktion nur

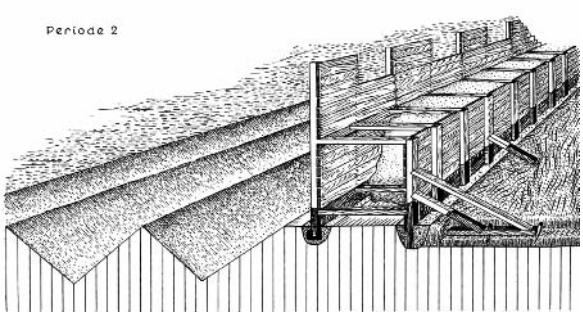

Abb. 6. Valkenburg Kastell Periode 2. Rekonstruierter Schnitt mit Holz-Erde-Mauer und Lagergraben nach Van Giffen (Van Giffen 1948).

dann stabil war, wenn zwei Holzverschalungen untereinander verbunden waren, weisen zusammen darauf hin, dass Zugbalken bei allen zweischaligen Holz-Erde-Mauern verwendet worden sein müssen.

Während die Standpfosten als feste Paare einander gegenüberstanden, war der Abstand zwischen diesen Paaren, gemessen in der Längsrichtung der Wehrmauer, keine Konstante (*Tabelle 1*). In Oberaden misst man für die Mehrheit der Pfosten einen Mitte-zu-Mitte-Abstand von etwa 1,2 m, während das entsprechende Maß in Haltern circa 3, 0 m beträgt.[43] Auch Werte zwischen diesen beiden Extremen kommen vor, wie im tiberischen Lager 8 von Neuss (= Neuss E), wo Harald von Petrikovitz einen Mitte-zu-Mitte-Abstand von 1,8 m gemessen hat.[44] Bei näherer Betrachtung dieser

Tabelle 1. Mitte-zu-Mitte-Abstand der Standpfosten in der Längsrichtung der Umwehrung

Standort	**Mitte-zu-Mitte-Abstand um**	**Bearbeiter**
Gruppe 1		
Rödgen	3,0 m	Schönberger 1976, 14
Marktbreit	3,0 m	Wamser 1991, 116
Haltern	3,0 m	Von Schnurbein 1974, 47
Gruppe 2		
Künzing Periode 2	1,3/1,6-1,8 m	Schönberger 1975, 11
Lincoln	1,5 m	Jones 1980, 48
Neuss 8 (= Neuss E)	1,8 m	Von Petrikovits 1961, 462
Gruppe 3		
Lahnau-Waldgirmes	0,8-1,2 m	Becker-Rasbach 1998, 674
Köln	1,0 m	Filtzinger 1962/63, 24-25
Alphen aan den Rijn	1,0 m	Polak/Kloosterman/Niemeijer 2004, 54
Zwammerdam	1,0 m	Haalebos 1977, 23
Oberstimm	1,0-1,1 m	Schönberger 1978, 17
Oberaden	1,2 m	Kühlborn 1992, Beilage 5 und 9
Anreppen	1,2 m	Doms 1971, 215
Mainz	1,2 m	Baatz 1962, 18
Moers-Asberg Kastell II Periode 2	1,2 m	Bechert 1979, 479
Valkenburg Periode 2	1,2 m	Van Giffen 1948, 101

Variation fallen bestimmte Häufungen auf. Bei einer Gruppe von Holz-Erde-Mauern standen die Standpfosten circa 3,0 m auseinander, bei einer zweiten Gruppe circa 1,5 bis 1,8 m und bei einer dritten Gruppe circa 1,0 bis 1,2 m.[45]

Wenn man diese Werte in römische Maße umrechnet, zeichnet sich ein System ab. Es scheint, dass beim Aufstellen der Standpfosten zwei Standardmaße, nämlich 10 oder 12 römische Fuß (theoretisch 2,96 und 3,55 m), Ausgangspunkt waren. Bei den Holz-Erde-Mauern der augusteischen Lager von Rödgen, Marktbreit und Haltern wiesen die Standpfosten einen Mitte-zu-Mitte-Abstand auf, der dem Standardmaß von 10 römischen Fuß entsprach.[46] Im Bezug auf die Standardmaße von 10 und 12 römischen Fuß kam es bei einer zweiten Gruppe zu einer Verdichtung. Die Standpfosten standen nun nicht mehr in einem von beiden Standardmaßen entsprechenden Abstand voneinander, sondern in einem Abstand, welcher der Hälfte entsprach: 5 oder 6 römische Fuß (theoretisch 1,48 und 1,78 m). Innerhalb der zweiten Gruppe repräsentieren Künzing Periode 2 und das neronische Lager von Lincoln die Variante, bei der die Standpfosten 5 römische Fuß auseinander standen, und Neuss 8 (= Neuss E) die Variante mit einem Mitte-zu-Mitte-Abstand von 6 römischen Fuß.[47] Eine dritte Gruppe zeigt eine noch größere Verdichtung. Das Standardmaß von 10 oder 12 römischen Fuß wurde hier gedrittelt, sodass sich ein Mitte-zu-Mitte-Abstand der Standpfosten von 3⅓ bzw. 4 römischen Fuß (theoretisch 0,99 bis 1,18 m) ergab. Zu dieser dritten Gruppe gehören Mainz, Oberaden, Köln, Anreppen, Lahnau-Waldgirmes, Alphen aan den Rijn, Moers-Asberg Kastell II Periode 2, Oberstimm, Valkenburg Periode 2 und Zwammerdam.[48]

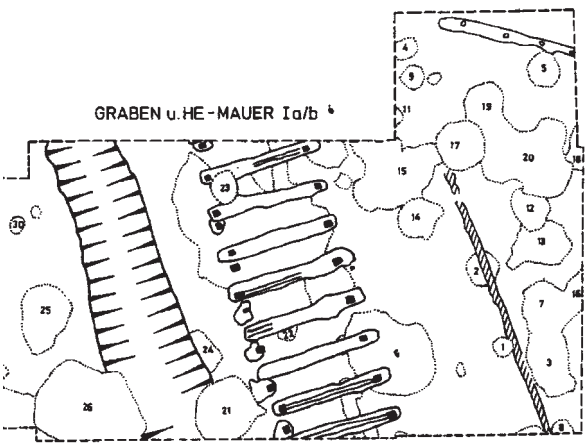

Abb. 7. Moers-Asberg Kastell II Periode 2 mit quer zur Holz-Erde-Mauer angelegten Fundamentgräbern (Bechert 1989).

Die unterschiedliche Platzierung der Standpfosten scheint mit den beiden oben beschriebenen Fundamentierungsarten zu korrelieren. Bei der ersten Gruppe, mit Standpfosten die im Durchschnitt um 3,0 m auseinander stehen, wurde durchgängig in einzelnen Pfostengruben fundamentiert. Dagegen wurden die Standpfosten bei der zweiten und dritten Gruppe in durchlaufenden Pfostengräben errichtet. Die Erklärung hierfür muss darin liegen, dass es bei dichter nebeneinandergestellten Pfosten weniger Arbeit bedurfte, um einen schmalen durchgehenden Graben auszuheben als eine Reihe von relativ breiten einzelnen Gruben. Im ersten Fall stand derjenige, der grub, in dem bereits ausgehobenen Teil des Grabens. Er grub also in Richtung des Grabens, der dadurch relativ schmal sein konnte, in der Praxis circa 0,5-0,6 m.[49] Dagegen mussten Einzelgruben relativ groß angelegt werden, um sicherzustellen, dass zum Ausheben mit dem Spaten genügend Platz vorhanden war. Einzelgruben, die auf der Höhe des römischen Laufhorizonts circa 1,0 x 1,0 m maßen, waren eher Regel als Ausnahme.[50] Mit zunehmendem Abstand zwischen den Standpfosten wurde ab einem bestimmten Punkt eine Umkehrung erreicht, von wo ab für das Fundamentieren in einem durchgehenden Graben ebenso viel Boden bewegt werden musste wie für das Fundamentieren in einzelnen Gruben. Laut Berechnungen des Verfassers lag diese Umkehrung bei einem Mitte-zu-Mitte-Abstand von circa 1,8 m.[51] Vergrößerte man den Abstand zwischen den Standpfosten, war es - im Hinblick auf die Bodenbewegung - günstiger, in einzelnen Gruben zu fundamentieren, was die Erbauer der Holz-Erde-Mauer - wie festgestellt - auch taten.

Zu den obigen Ausführungen passt eine Randbemerkung, dass nämlich nur bei der Holz-Erde-Mauer von Kastell II Periode 2 von Moers-Asberg quer zur Holz-Erde-Mauer angelegte Fundamentgräbchen nachgewiesen wurden (*Abb. 7*).[52] Auch wenn dies als ein wesentlicher Unterschied erscheint, geht es eigentlich nur um ein Detail. Aus unbekannten Gründen wurden in Moers-Asberg die untersten Zugbalken unterhalb des römischen Laufhorizonts angelegt, was das Ausheben von Quergräben erforderlich machte. Anderswo muss der unterste Zugbalken nach den Bodenspuren gerade oberhalb des römischen Laufhorizonts gelegen haben. Derartige, oberhalb des Laufhorizonts angebrachte Zugbalken hat Van Giffen bei Kastell Valkenburg Periode 2 *in situ* angetroffen.[53] Dass die Lösung von Moers-Asberg nicht viele

Nachfolger gefunden hat, lässt sich mit dem Fakt erklären, dass sie bei relativ eng nebeneinandergesetzten Standpfosten, so wie in Moers-Asberg, eine größere Bodenbewegung erforderlich machte als die Standardlösung mit Pfostengraben in der Längsrichtung der Wehrmauer.[54]

Im Folgenden soll der Frage nachgegangen werden, welche Gründen dazu geführt haben, die Standpfosten weiter auseinander oder im Gegenteil gerade enger zusammenzusetzen. Um diese Frage zu beantworten, muss zunächst kurz auf das Verhalten eines aufgeschütteten Erdwalls eingegangen werden.[55] Wenn man Erde aufschüttet, nimmt diese von selbst die Form eines umgekehrten Trichters oder Schüttkegels an. Je geringer Kohäsion und innere Reibung eines Bodens sind, umso weiter wird der Erdhaufen auseinander sacken.[56] Dieses Phänomen impliziert, dass ein Erdwall mit einem steilen oder vertikalen Abschluss ohne weitere Vorkehrungen in Form einer Gegenkonstruktion nicht stehen bleibt. Die Stabilität des Walls kann übrigens erhöht werden, indem man die Erde schichtweise verdichtet, was die Römer Vegetius zufolge auch taten.[57] Bei einer Holz-Erde-Mauer erfüllte die Holzverschalung die Funktion der Gegenkonstruktion. Die von der Erdmasse verursachte, nach außen gerichtete Belastung traf zuerst auf die Holzverkleidung aus Brettern oder Bohlen. Darin trat als Folge des Erddrucks eine Biegespannung auf. Über die Holzverkleidung erreichte die nach außen gerichtete Belastung die Standpfosten. Diese konnten die Belastung auffangen, weil sie eingegraben und durch Zugbalken mit den Standpfosten auf der anderen Seite des Erdwalls verbunden waren.[58] Für die Standpfosten war, ebenso wie für die Holzverkleidung, die Biegespannung maßgebend.

Aus den bisherigen Ausführungen ergibt sich, dass die Bodenart Einfluss auf den Abstand der Standpfosten untereinander gehabt haben kann. Fest steht, dass die hier untersuchten Holz-Erde-Mauern nicht alle mit dergleichen Bodenart verfüllt waren, weshalb die durch die diversen Erdwälle verursachte Belastung keine Konstante darstellte. Weil reiner Sand eine geringere Kohäsion und innere Reibung hat als Tonsand oder Lehm in trockenem Zustand, wird eine Füllung aus größtenteils reinem Sand bei einem konstanten Abstand der Standpfosten untereinander die Holzverkleidung pro laufenden Meter stärker belastet haben als eine Füllung aus trockenem Lehm.[59] Als Maßnahme zur Kompensierung der geringeren Kohäsion einer ungünstigen Bodenart konnte man die Standpfosten enger nebeneinanderstellen. Obwohl eine Untersuchung der Korrelation zwischen Bodenart und Mitte-zu-Mitte-Abstand noch ein Desideratum darstellt, gibt es jetzt schon Indizien dafür, dass es zwischen beiden keine konsequente Verbindung gab. So bestand der Erdwall von Valkenburg Periode 2 aus strukturlosem Tonsand und der von Oberaden aus Lehm, obwohl die Standpfosten fast gleichen Abstand hatten.[60] In Haltern war die Umwehrung mit Sand verfüllt, was für die Belastung nicht günstig ist, wohingegen der Abstand der Standpfosten untereinander gerade circa 3,0 m betrug.[61]

Offensichtlich hat der Fakt, dass der Mitte-zu-Mitte-Abstand der Standpfosten keine Konstante war, einen anderen Hintergrund. Auf die Frage, worin der größte Gewinn beim Aufstellen der Standpfosten in größerem Abstand bestehen konnte, lautet die Antwort: in einer Verkürzung der Bauzeit. Eine Konstruktion mit weiter auseinandergesetzten Pfosten erfordert eine geringere Bodenbewegung.[62] Auch braucht man weniger Gebinde herzustellen und aufzurichten. Schließlich kommt es zu einer weiteren Zeitersparnis, weil die Holzverkleidung (Bretter oder Bohlen) dank der weiter auseinander stehenden Standpfosten weniger Befestigungspunkte haben. Diese Vorteile führen augenblicklich zu der Frage, warum nicht überall die Standpfosten circa 3,0 m weit auseinander gesetzt wurden. Das wird mit dem Holzverbrauch in Zusammenhang stehen. Wie bereits ausgeführt, nahm mit wachsendem Mitte-zu-Mitte-Abstand der Standpfosten die Belastung auf die Holzverschalung zu. Bei einem Abstand der Standpfosten untereinander von 3,0 m war das Biegemoment in der Holzverschalung neun Mal höher als bei einem Abstand von 1,0 m.[63] Dieser signifikante Unterschied muss sich auf die Ausführung der Holzverschalung ausgewirkt haben. Leider befinden sich die drei Holz-Erde-Mauern mit gesicherten Spuren von Holzverkleidung alle am selben Ende des Spektrums: Lahnau-Waldgirmes, Valkenburg Periode 2 und Lincoln hatten eine Bretterverkleidung - die dünnste Holzverschalung - und bei allen Dreien standen die Standpfosten relativ eng nebeneinander. Lahnau-Waldgirmes und Valkenburg Periode 2 gehören zu Gruppe 3 (Mitt-zu-Mitte-Abstand 3⅓ oder 4 römische Fuß), während Lincoln zu Gruppe 2 (Mitte-zu-Mitte-Abstand 5 oder 6 römische Fuß) gehört.[64] Man kann davon ausgehen, dass bei einem größeren Mitte-zu-Mitte-Abstand, so wie in Haltern, zur Kompensierung der signifikant höheren Biegespannung keine Bretter, sondern Bohlen verwendet wurden. Wo dies in der Tat geschah, hatte der größere Mitte-zu-Mitte-Abstand einen ungünstigen Effekt auf den Holzverbrauch: Für eine Holz-Erde-Mauer

mit Standpfosten im Abstand von 3,0 m und einer Holzverschalung aus 8 cm starken Bohlen benötigt man pro laufendem Meter Umwehrung rund 50 % mehr Holz als für eine Holz-Erde-Mauer mit Pfosten im Abstand von 1,2 m, bei der 3 cm starke Bretter verwendet werden, wie sie in Valkenburg Periode 2 *in situ* gefunden wurden.[65]

Somit wird ein großer Mitte-zu-Mitte-Abstand der Standpfosten widerspiegeln, dass eine möglichst kurze Bauzeit angestrebt wurde und dass das dafür benötigte zusätzliche Holz zur Verfügung stand. Ein relativ kleiner Mitte-zu-Mitte-Abstand besagt, dass die Bauzeit kein gravierendes Kriterium war, oder aber das für eine Verkürzung der Bauzeit erforderliche Holz nicht verfügbar war. Die Variation beim Mitte-zu-Mitte-Abstand wird Einfluss auf die Stärke der Holzverschalung des Erdwalls - Bretter oder Bohlen - gehabt haben, aber es gibt keinen Hinweis darauf, dass sie zu Unterschieden in der Grundkonstruktion geführt hat oder gerade diese widerspiegelt.

Zu den bisherigen Ausführungen passt eine Randnotiz: In der Holz-Erde-Mauer des tiberischen Auxiliarlagers von Bonn sind die Standpfosten mit einem Zwischenabstand von 0,6 m wesentlich enger zusammen gesetzt als anderswo.[66] Außerdem stehen die Standpfosten in einem Schwellriegel, was in diesem Zusammenhang jedoch keine Rolle spielt.[67] Während der Ausgrabungen wurde festgestellt, dass die Wehrmauer nicht eine gebräuchliche Holzverkleidung hatte, sondern eine Verschalung, die als Fachwerkwand gearbeitet war. Das heißt, dass die durch den Erdwall verursachte, nach außen gerichtete Belastung von der Füllung im Fachwerk anstelle von Brettern oder Bohlen aufgefangen werden musste. Man ist geneigt, in dem auffallend geringen Mitte-zu-Mitte-Abstand eine Maßnahme zu sehen, um den Druck auf die Fachwerkfüllung zu reduzieren.

Eine weitere Konstante in der Ausführung und damit ein Indiz für die Vergleichbarkeit von zweischaligen Holz-Erde-Mauern untereinander sind die Maße der Standpfosten. In Oberaden konnten diese an den Holzfunden abgenommen werden, was zu den verlässlichsten Ergebnissen führt. Kühlborn hat festgestellt, dass die Standpfosten durchgängig nicht quadratisch, sondern rechteckig gearbeitet waren und dass die Maße zu 0,2 x 0,15 m tendierten.[68] Er wies darauf hin, dass teilweise recht deutliche Abweichungen auftraten. Auch in Valkenburg wurden Standpfosten als Holzfunde *in situ* gefunden. Van Giffen nennt als Maße 0,20 x 0,18 m, was den bei Kühlborn angegebenen Werten für Oberaden sehr nahe kommt.[69] Die geringe Abweichung untereinander kann als nicht signifikant betrachtet werden, da die Maße der Standpfosten nie völlig konstant waren. So sind in Oberaden neben den von Kühlborn genannten am häufigsten vorkommenden rechteckigen Standpfosten auch etwas größere, quadratisch behauene Standpfosten mit einer Seitenlänge von 0,2 m gefunden worden.[70] An anderen Orten sind die Maße der Standpfosten anhand von dunkelfarbigen Pfostenlöchern ermittelt worden, wobei in der Literatur durchgehend Maße von 'etwa' 0,2 x 0,2 m genannt werden.[71] Möglicherweise stellen die Standpfosten von Kastell II Periode 2 von Moers-Asberg eine Ausnahme dar. Tilmann Bechert hat die Maße anhand der Pfostenspuren ermittelt und spricht von 0,18 x 0,12 m und größer.[72] Abgesehen davon zeichnet sich bei den Maßen der Standpfosten eine deutliche Einheitlichkeit ab.[73] Die ermittelten Werte variieren innerhalb einer schmalen Bandbreite, wobei Oberaden die Untergrenze zu repräsentieren scheint und die Maße 0,20 x 0,20 m die Obergrenze darstellen. Diese Werte entsprechen ⅔ x ½ und ⅔ x ⅔ römischen Fuß (theoretisch 0,20 x 0,15 m und 0,20 x 0,20 m).

Ein letzter Hinweis darauf, dass zweischalige Holz-Erde-Mauern außer in großen Zügen auch was die praktische Ausführung anbelangt miteinander verwandt waren und demzufolge miteinander verglichen werden können, liegt in einem bemerkenswerten Detail. Es wurde bereits erörtert, dass Holzverschalung und Standpfosten durch den Erdwall belastet wurden. Für die Konstruktion ist es dann am günstigsten, wenn die Standpfosten mit der Längsseite quer zur Umwehrung stehen. Nur bei wenigen Holz-Erde-Mauern konnte überprüft werden, ob die Erbauer so gehandelt haben, weil die Standpfosten meistens quadratisch waren (⅔ x ⅔ römischen Fuß). Nur für Oberaden, Valkenburg Periode 2 und Moers-Asberg Kastell II Periode 2 werden in der Literatur rechteckige Pfosten genannt. Sowohl in Oberaden als auch in Valkenburg standen die als Holzfunde erhalten gebliebene Standpfosten mit ihrer Längsseite von ⅔ römischen Fuß nicht quer zur Umwehrung sondern parallel dazu. Sie zeigen darin Verwandtschaft mit Kaianlagen, wie die von Xanten, wo zumindest ein Teil der Eichenpfähle ebenfalls mit der Längsseite zur Bohlenwand augerichtet war.[74] Offensichtlich war dabei nicht die statisch günstigste Aufstellung ausschlaggebend, sondern andere Faktoren von wahrscheinlich praktischer Natur. So befand sich die Fuge zwischen zwei Brettern oder Bohlen notwendigerweise an der Stelle der Standpfosten, welche dann auch so breit sein mussten, dass zwei Bretter oder Bohlen anschließend aneinander befestigt

werden konnten.[75] Auch für die Anfertigung einer funktionstüchtigen Holzverbindung zwischen Standpfosten und Zugbalken wird die Breite des Standpfostens an einen in der Praxis ermittelten Mindestwert gebunden gewesen sein.

In Bezug auf die Aufstellung der Standpfosten unterschied Kastell II Periode 2 von Moers-Asberg sich von Oberaden und Valkenburg Periode 2. Die Standpfosten standen dort mit ihrer Längsseite quer zur Umwehrung.[76] Dieses könnte mit der bereits oben festgestellten abweichenden Form der Gebinde, wobei der unterste Zugbalken sich (teilweise) unter dem damaligen Laufhorizont befand, zusammenhängen.

Die vorangegangene Analyse von Konstanten und Variablen rechtfertigt einige Schlussbemerkungen. Anhand der als *footprint* bezeichneten Bodenspuren zeigt sich, dass zweischalige Holz-Erde-Mauern untereinander in der Art und Weise variieren wie die Holzkonstruktion in den Boden eingelassen wurde, und im Abstand zwischen den Standpfosten, gemessen in Längsrichtung der Umwehrung. Es wurde darauf hingewiesen, dass zwischen beiden eine Entsprechung besteht und dass die festgestellte Variation aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach einen rein praktischen Hintergrund hatte, nämlich den Wunsch - soweit es die Umstände zuließen - rascher zu bauen. Trotz des Vorhandenseins der besprochenen Variablen zeichnet sich im *footprint* Einheitlichkeit in der Erscheinungsform von Holz-Erde-Mauern ab, was im Hinblick auf die Funktion auch auf der Hand liegt. Der Faktor, der am meisten zur Einheitlichkeit beigetragen hat, ist die Konstruktion aller Holz-Erde-Mauern mit Gebinden, wobei die Senkrechten - die Standpfosten - als Träger der Holzverschalung dienten. Der Abstand zwischen den Standpfosten variierte zwar, dadurch veränderte sich jedoch nicht die Erscheinungsform mit etwa 0,2 m breiten Pfosten und eine an der Innenseite befestigte Holzverkleidung. Weniger Einblick hat man in den Bereich der Brustwehr. Dafür gilt jedoch, dass grundlegende Unterschiede eher unwahrscheinlich sind, weil dafür im Hinblick auf die Funktion keinerlei Motiv bestand. Wie gesagt sollen dort, wo der Oberadener Befund unzureichend ist, ergänzende Informationen durch den Vergleich mit Gegenstücken gewonnen werden. Die dafür erforderliche Verwandtschaft in Bezug auf die Grundform sowie die Ausführung möge durch die vorangestellten Überlegungen gewährleistet sein.

Die Höhe der Wehrmauer

Auf der Basis einiger antiker Quellen, des Befundes mehrerer Orte und einiger früherer Rekonstruktionsforschungen wird in der Literatur der Standpunkt eingenommen, dass das Niveau des Wehrgangs von Rasensoden- und Holz-Erde-Mauern im Prinzip zwischen 3,0 und 3,6 m bzw. 10 und 12 römischen Fuß gelegen haben muss.[77] Untersucht wurde, ob man diese Werte tatsächlich als Bereich für die Höhe der Holz-Erde-Mauern beibehalten kann und ob es Anlass gibt, für Oberaden eine nähere Aussage zu machen.

Zuerst wurden die schriftlichen Quellen herangezogen. In Zusammenhang mit den Befestigungslinien von Alesia beschreibt Caesar eine Wallkonstruktion, die mit einer Brustwehr mit Zinnen versehen ist. Der Wehrgang dieses Walls befand sich auf einer Höhe von 12 Fuß.[78] Dieselbe Höhe gibt Caesar für zwei weitere Wälle an.[79] Eine von den Nerviern errichtete Umwehrung war dagegen 10 Fuß hoch.[80] Man könnte meinen, dass der Feind für die Höhe des Wehrganges vielleicht einen anderen Ansatz hatte, wenn nicht Caesar angemerkt hätte, die Nervier hätten sich für die Errichtung von Wehrmauern von römischen Soldaten, die während früherer Expeditionen gefangen genommen worden waren, schulen lassen.[81] Dass auch die Römer Erdwälle von 10 Fuß Höhe errichteten, zeigt sich in *De bello civili*. In diesem Werk nennt Caesar die Höhe von drei Erdwällen: Bei einem betrug sie 12 Fuß, bei den beiden anderen jeweils 10 Fuß.[82] Spätere Autoren notieren deutlich niedrigere Umwehrungen. In *De munitionibus castrorum* notiert Pseudo-Hygin für die Höhe einer Rasensodenmauer 6 Fuß.[83] Vegetius gibt in *Epitoma rei militaris* mehrere Werte, abhängig von dem Ausmaß, in dem die Römer bedroht werden. Bei geringer Bedrohung sollte ein 3 Fuß hoher Wall aus Rasensoden angelegt werden, bei größerer Gefahr einer von 4 Fuß Höhe.[84] Obwohl die Spuren der diversen Holz-Erde-Mauern in dieser Hinsicht nicht unmittelbar Klarheit bieten, ist sicher, dass die Wehrmauern höher waren als die von Pseudo-Hygin und Vegetius beschriebenen Erdwälle, was im Folgenden näher erklärt wird. Das heißt, dass von den in den schriftlichen Quellen erwähnten Werten im Prinzip ausschließlich die bei Caesar genannten Maße ein Indiz für die Höhe sein können, auf der bei Holz-Erde-Mauern der Wehrgang angelegt wurde. Davon ausgehend, dass an die von Caesar angelegten Wehrmauern bezüglich der Verteidigung keine größeren Anforderungen gestellt wurden als an die Holz-Erde-Mauern der augusteischen Militär-

lager, erscheint es unwahrscheinlich, dass die Höhe des Wehrgangs der letztgenannten weniger betrug als die kleinsten von Caesar erwähnten Werte, nämlich 10 Fuß (2,96 m).

Weitere Hinweise auf die Höhe des Wehrganges müssen den Grabungsergebnissen entnommen werden. Eine erste Möglichkeit dazu bieten einzelne, relativ gut erhaltene Erdwälle. Es wird dabei unterstellt, dass ihre Höhe ein Mindestmaß ist für das Niveau, auf dem bei Holz-Erde-Mauern der Wehrgang angelegt wurde. Robin Birley berichtet von einer aus Torf errichteten Umwehrung für das trajanische Kastell Vindolanda Periode 2, die bis zu einer Höhe von 1,6 m erhalten ist. Es ist nicht klar, wie sich dieses Niveau zur ursprünglichen Höhe verhält.[85] In Lincoln reichte die Erdaufschüttung der neronischen, zweischaligen Holz-Erde-Mauer noch bis in eine Höhe von maximal 2,5 m. Nach Jones betrug die ursprüngliche Höhe des Wehrganges zwischen 8 und 12 römischen Fuß.[86] Die Rasensodenmauer des neronischen Lagers von Chester ist nach den Angaben von Mason bis zu einer Höhe von maximal etwa 2,7 m erhalten. Ihm zufolge kann die Höhe des Wehrganges 10 römische Fuß gewesen sein, obwohl er es nicht für unmöglich hält, dass das ursprüngliche Niveau sogar bei 15 römischen Fuß lag.[87]

Von Interesse ist auch der Befund der zweischaligen Holz-Erde-Mauer von Kastell Valkenburg Periode 2. Van Giffen hat festgestellt, dass ein Teil der Standpfosten der Innenverschalung durch Schrägstützen gesichert war. Ansätze der Schrägstützen wurden als Holzfunde *in situ* freigelegt. Indem man den Ansatz im selben Winkel bis zur Innenverschalung verlängerte, konnte für den Wehrgang eine Mindesthöhe von etwa 2,0 m ermittelt werden.[88] Einen vergleichbaren Fall stellt die einschalige Umwehrung von Kastell Munnigen dar.[89] Die dortige Außenfront war mit einer einzelnen Reihe von Standpfosten ausgeführt worden. Diese korrespondierten offensichtlich mit im Abstand von 4-5 m beginnenden Schrägstützen. Ein Ansatz der Stützen wurde bei den Ausgrabungen als Holzfund *in situ* gefunden. Indem dieser Ansatz mit Hilfe einer Latte im selben Winkel verlängert wurde, konnte festgestellt werden, dass Schrägstützen und Standpfosten in einer Höhe von etwa 2,3 m zusammentrafen. Dieses Maß gilt als Mindesthöhe für das Niveau, auf dem der Wehrgang angelegt wurde.[90]

Eine Obergrenze für die Höhe des Wehrgangs kann anhand von steinernen Umwehrungen ermittelt werden. Prämisse dafür ist, dass sie wegen ihres dauerhaften Charakters in ihren Abmessungen einer Holz-Erde-Mauer zumindest ebenbürtig waren. Eine wichtige Quelle ist das schon von Johnson genannte, wahrscheinlich noch in das erste nachchristliche Jahrhundert datierende Numeruskastell Wörth am Main, wo ein Teil der Wehrmauer in den Lagergraben gestürzt war.[91] Die Mauer ist dabei soweit intakt geblieben, dass das Niveau des Wehrgangs noch ermittelt werden konnte: Dabei ergab sich eine Höhe von circa 4,15 m oder 14 römischen Fuß (theoretisch 4,14 m).[92] Auch die in die aurelianische Mauer integrierte Umwehrung des tiberischen Prätorianerlagers in Rom gibt einen Hinweis auf die Höhe des Wehrgangs, wie schon von Jacobi angemerkt wurde.[93] Auf der Außenseite der in *opus latericium* ausgeführten Konstruktion markiert ein aus einfachen Ziegelsteinen gearbeitetes Gesims ein Niveau, das aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach dem Niveau des Wehrgangs auf der Innenseite entsprach.[94] Dieses läge dann um 3,76 m über dem damaligen Laufhorizont.[95] Für die vorliegende Studie bedeutet das, dass es nicht auf der Hand liegt, dass der Wehrgang einer Holz-Erde-Mauer höher als 3,76 m (rund 12½ römische Fuß) gelegen hat.

Ein weiterer Fall liefert zwar keinen Hinweis, muss aber trotzdem kurz erwähnt werden. Bei Ausgrabungen im Kastell Vindolanda in Chesterholm wurde einer der Flügel eines Eichenholztores gefunden. Er lag außerhalb eines Gebäudes, welches von Birley als *fabrica* gedeutet wird.[96] Der 1,37 x 3,66 m messende Flügel lag flach auf dem Boden und diente sekundär möglicherweise als Boden für ein Wasserbecken. Hobley erwähnt den Flügel in Zusammenhang mit den Türen der Torgebäude in römischen Militärlagern.[97] Es muss betont werden, dass es keinerlei Beweis für die ursprüngliche Herkunft des Torflügels gibt. Die Höhe von 3,66 m kann also auch nicht als Hinweis gelten auf die Höhe der Zugänge zu den Legionslagern und damit ebenso wenig auf das Niveau, auf dem der Wehrgang angelegt wurde.[98]

Die den oben genannten schriftlichen Quellen und dem archäologischen Befund entnommenen Hinweise bewegen sich allgemein innerhalb der bereits früher angenommenen Bandbreite von 10 bis 12 Fuß. Weitere Hinweise auf die Höhe des Wehrganges konnten nicht direkt abgelesen werden, sondern wurden durch Analyse ermittelt. Der erste Hinweis bezieht sich auf das bei Vegetius genannte und in sich logische Verhältnis von Inhalt des Lagergrabens zum Volumen des aufgeworfenen Erdwalls.[99] Bei einem direkten Verhältnis könnte man die Höhe des Erdwalls aus der Menge der Erde berechnen, die aus dem Lagergraben stammt, geteilt durch die Nettobreite des Erdwalls, also exklusiv der Holzverschalung. Zu-

erst wurde untersucht, in wieweit das Verhältnis Graben - Erdwall von Vegetius nicht nur prinzipiell genannt wird, sondern sich auch aus den von ihm gelieferten Maßen ableiten lässt. Er gibt folgenden Hinweis:

> 'Aber bei einer größeren feindlichen Bedrohung empfiehlt es sich, den gesamten Lagerumkreis mit einem regulären Graben von zwölf Fuß breit und neun Fuß tief unter dem sogenannten Bauhorizont zu befestigen. Hinter diesem Graben wird eine doppelte Umzäunung errichtet, die mit aus dem Graben gewonnener Erde gefüllt wird, und zwar bis zu einer Höhe von vier Fuß. So ergibt sich ein Wall, der 13 Fuß hoch und 12 Fuß breit ist.' (1.24)[100]

Der Inhalt des bei Vegetius empfohlenen Grabens beträgt 4,7 Kubikmeter pro laufenden Meter (m^3/m).[101] Ausgehend von senkrechten Fronten beträgt das Volumen des aufgeworfenen Walls 4,2 m^3/m.[102] Obwohl diese Werte implizieren, dass ungefähr 10% mehr Erde gewonnen wird, als für das Aufwerfen des Walls notwendig war, sieht man bei den Maßangaben von Vegetius doch einen deutlichen Zusammenhang zwischen beiden Werten. Es stellt sich allerdings die Frage, ob Vegetius für die zum Graben hin orientierte Seite des Erdwalls tatsächlich eine senkrechte Front annahm. Wenn das der Fall ist, musste auch eine Berme vorhanden gewesen sein, weil eine vertikale Verschalung nicht direkt am Innenrand des Lagergrabens errichtet werden konnte. Eine Wallkonstruktion mit Berme scheint jedoch der Tatsache zu widersprechen, dass Vegetius die Tiefe des Grabens und die Höhe des Walls zu einem einzigen Höhenmaß von 13 Fuß addiert. Es ist daher wahrscheinlicher, dass Graben und Wall nahtlos ineinander übergingen. Der Wall wäre dann auf der Grabenseite im gleichen Winkel wie der Graben abgeböscht gewesen, was im Übrigen impliziert, dass die Verschalung auf der Grabenseite aus Rasensoden bestanden haben muss. Wenn diese Betrachtungsweise korrekt ist, war das Volumen des aufgeworfenen Walls etwas größer als oben berechnet, nämlich 4,2 m^3/m plus dem Volumen der abgeböschten Seite des Walls, das 0,5 m^3/m beträgt.[103] Das komplette Volumen des aufgeworfenen Walls stimmt dann mit einer zu vernachlässigenden Differenz von sechs Eimern Erde mit dem Volumen des Grabens überein (4,66 zu 4,72 m^3/m).[104]

In der Vergangenheit wurde mehrfach der Versuch unternommen, die Höhe eines Erdwalls aus dem Volumen des Lagergrabens abzuleiten. Dies geschah meistens im Zusammenhang mit Rasensodenmauern oder einschaligen Holz-Erde-Mauern. Das Problem dabei besteht jedoch in der Tatsache, dass die Rechnung zu viele Unbekannte ausweist: Neben der Höhe des Erdwalls trifft das auch auf das Profil - der Wall hatte keine senkrechten Fronten - und die Volumenanteile von Rasensoden und Erde zu.[105] Für die Römer gab es keinen Grund, sich beim Ausstechen von Rasensoden auf den Bereich zu beschränken, der für Lagergraben und eventuell Berme vorgesehen war.[106] Wie viele Rasensoden verwendet wurden, ist deshalb nur schwer abzuschätzen. Das Gleiche gilt für ihren Anteil am Gesamtvolumen. Gleichzeitig muss berücksichtigt werden, dass - sei es aus strategischen Gründen oder um extra Boden zu gewinnen - mehr Lagergräben ausgehoben oder diese breiter und/oder tiefer angelegt wurden, als für das Aufschütten des Erdwalls erforderlich war. Das alles führt dazu, dass bei einer Konstruktion mit Rasensoden (oder Torf) das Volumen des Lagergrabens nicht ohne Weiteres als verlässlicher Hinweis auf die Höhe des Erdwalls betrachtet werden darf. In dieser Perspektive sieht der Verfasser die Schlussfolgerung von Hobley bezüglich der Rasensodenmauer von Kastell The Lunt in Baginton. Ausgehend von einer rekonstruierten Höhe von 12 römischen Fuß und unter der Prämisse, dass eine Rasensodenmauer in einem mehr oder weniger festen Verhältnis von Rasensoden zu Erde errichtet wurde, folgerte er, dass die aus den beiden Lagergräben gewonnene Erde nicht genügend Volumen lieferte, um das Innere der Wehrmauer füllen zu können.[107]

Bei zweischaligen Holz-Erde-Mauern ist die Situation viel günstiger. Weil die Umwehrung senkrechte Fronten hat, ist das Profil bei der Volumenberechnung keine Unbekannte. Das gilt auch für die Zusammensetzung des Erdwalls. Bei Rasensodenmauern musste der Erdwall selbst für Stabilität und das Auffangen des seitwärts gerichteten Druckes sorgen, weshalb eine Verschalung aus Rasensoden verwendet wurde. Bei Holz-Erde-Mauern dagegen sorgte der Holzrahmen für Stabilität und das Auffangen des seitwärts gerichteten Druckes, der Erdwall war reines Volumen.[108] Aus praktischen Gründen - die Beschränkung des Transportes auf ein Minimum - wird dieses Volumen so nah wie möglich an der Holz-Erde-Mauer gewonnen worden sein, nämlich aus dem Lagergraben. Deshalb wird das Volumen des Lagergrabens bei Holz-Erde-Mauern ein verlässlicheres Maß für die Höhe des Erdwalls darstellen als bei Rasensodenmauern. Die Höhe des Erdwalls wird, wie oben gesagt, berechnet, indem der Inhalt des Lagergrabens durch die Nettobreite des Erdwalls, also exklusiv der Holzverschalung, geteilt wird. Für drei zweischalige Holz-Erde-Mauern, darun-

ter die von Oberaden, konnte der Verfasser die Probe machen. Jede Einzelne bot eine gute Grundlage für die Berechnungen, weil außer der Breite der Wehrmauer auch das Volumen des Lagergrabens festgestellt werden konnte. Dafür ist es erforderlich, dass bei den Ausgrabungen der römische Laufhorizont erkannt wurde oder zumindest relativ sicher geschätzt werden konnte. Kastell Valkenburg Periode 2 besaß drei Lagergräben. Aus den bei Van Giffen angegebenen Maßen folgt, dass sie zusammen auf ein Volumen von rund 6,4 m³/m kamen.[109] Daneben gibt der Ausgräber die Breite der Holz-Erde-Mauer, gemessen innerhalb der *in situ* vorgefundenen Bretterverkleidung, mit 2,3 m an.[110] Teilt man die Menge an Erde durch die Nettobreite der Umwehrung, beträgt das Ergebnis 2,8 m, die Höhe des Erdwalls. Die folgende Berechnung bezieht sich auf Haltern: Hier betrug die Nettobreite der Holz-Erde-Mauer circa 2,6 m.[111] Der Inhalt der beiden Lagergräben wurde anhand eines 1973 von Siegmar von Schnurbein angelegten Profilschnitts, in dem der römische Laufhorizont zu erkennen ist, berechnet. Aus den beiden Lagergräben kamen insgesamt circa 14,4 m³/m Erde.[112] Ein Hinweis auf die Höhe des Erdwalls lässt sich ermitteln, wenn man das Volumen der beiden Lagergräben durch die Nettobreite des Walls teilt, mit dem Ergebnis von 5,5 m.[113] Eine letzte Berechnung bezieht sich auf Oberaden: Kühlborn vermutet, dass in einem Profilschnitt von der Nordostecke des Lagers das römische Niveau annähernd abgelesen werden kann.[114] An dieser Stelle beträgt die Breite des Lagergrabens ungefähr 6,5 m und die Tiefe etwa 2,1 m, woraus sich ein Inhalt von 6,8 m³/m ergibt. Die Nettobreite der Holz-Erde-Mauer kann mit 2,6 m angenommen werden.[115] Aus diesen Maßen ergibt sich für die Höhe des Erdwalls ein Wert von 2,6 m.[116]

Die vorgestellten Ergebnisse zeichnen kein eindeutiges Bild: Die Ergebnisse für Valkenburg und Oberaden, nämlich 2,8 m bzw. 2,6 m, liegen dicht beieinander. Man muss jedoch berücksichtigen, dass es sich hierbei um Näherungswerte handelt. Es ist nicht ausgeschlossen, dass die Erdwälle von Valkenburg und Oberaden gleich hoch waren, genauso wie der Unterschied zwischen beiden in der Realität auch größer gewesen sein kann. Haltern weicht deutlich ab, denn mit 5,5 m wäre hier der Erdwall doppelt so hoch wie in Valkenburg und Oberaden. Allein schon aus statischen Gründen - Stabilität - ist diese Höhe äußerst unwahrscheinlich. Man gewinnt den Eindruck, dass in Haltern mehr Lagergräben ausgehoben oder diese tiefer und breiter angelegt wurden, als für die Aufschüttung des Erdwalls erforderlich gewesen wäre. Franz Biermann bemerkte schon, dass der Inhalt des Innengrabens von Haltern ausgereicht hätte, um einen Erdwall von 2,5 bis 2,95 m aufzuschütten.[117] Die Erde aus dem Außengraben hätte Biermann zufolge zur Planierung des Vorfeldes benutzt worden sein können.[118] Das soll im Folgenden überprüft werden. Aus dem bereits erwähnten, von Von Schnurbein angelegten Profilschnitt lässt sich für den Innengraben ein Inhalt von 6,9 m³/m ableiten.[119] Teilt man diesen Wert durch die oben geschätzte Nettobreite der Umwehrung von 2,6 m, ergibt sich für die Höhe des Erdwalls ein Wert von 2,7 m. Dies entspricht den Ergebnissen für Valkenburg und Oberaden.

Nach Abwägung der vorgestellten Hinweise gibt es ausreichende Gründe, um das von Vegetius formulierte Verhältnis von Inhalt des Lagergrabens zu Volumen des aufgeschütteten Erdwalls wörtlich zu nehmen. Das bedeutet im Übrigen nicht, dass die obige Berechnungsmethode für jede Holz-Erde-Mauer ohne Weiteres zur Ermittlung der korrekten Höhe der Erdaufschüttung führt, wie dies für Haltern zu sehen war. Die Tatsache, dass die Ergebnisse der drei besprochenen Beispiele so dicht beieinander liegen, erhöht die Wahrscheinlichkeit, dass die Höhe der diesbezüglichen Erdwälle tatsächlich dem Bereich von 2,6 m bis zu

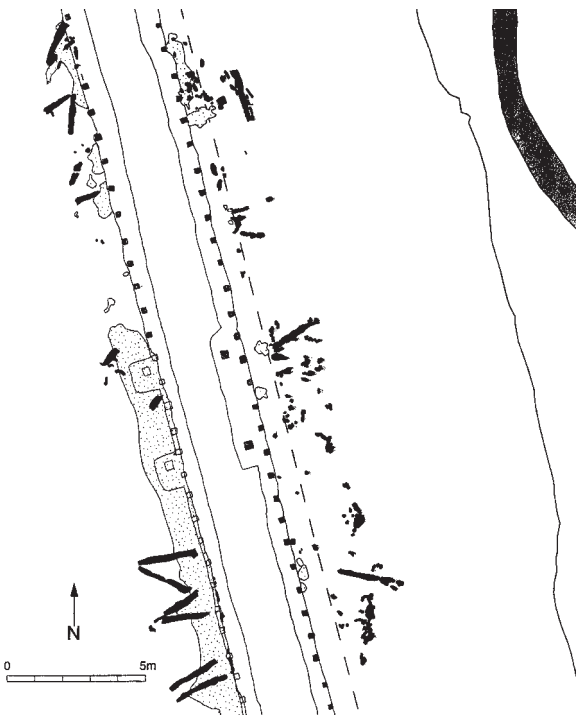

Abb. 8. Lahnau-Waldgirmes. Befund mit Holzkohlekonzentrationen (Becker/Rasbach 2003).

Tabelle 2. Hinweis für die Höhe des Erdwalls.

Standort	**Höhe Erdwall**	
	Zweischalige Holz-Erde-Mauer	**Rasensodenmauer**
Lahnau-Waldgirmes	2,5 m	
Lincoln	≥ 2,5 m	
Oberaden	2,6 m	
Haltern	2,7 m (berechnet nach dem Inhalt des Innengrabens)	
Valkenburg Periode 2	2,8 m	
Chester		≥ 2,7 m

circa 2,8 m annähernd entsprach.[120] Weitere Untersuchungen müssen zeigen, ob dies auch für die übrigen zweischaligen Holz-Erde-Mauern gilt.

Ein letzter Hinweis für die Höhe des Wehrgangs kann der Befund von Lahnau-Waldgirmes liefern. Armin Becker und Gabriele Rasbach schreiben, dass die Holz-Erde-Mauer durch Brand verwüstet wurde, nachdem brennbares Material am Fuß der Holz-Erde-Mauer aufgeschichtet worden war.[121] Einzelne Standpfosten wurden auf beiden Seiten der östlichen Umwehrung als bis zu 2,5 m lange und durchschnittlich etwa 15 cm breite Holzkohlekonzentration gefunden (*Abb. 8*). Außerdem wurden an der Innenseite der Umwehrung Teile einer Bretterverschalung als 1-2 cm breite Holzkohlestreifen *in situ* freigelegt. Auf der Außenseite wurden Spuren einer Bretterverkleidung festgestellt, die auf der Innenböschung des Lagergrabens lagen. Vier Aspekte des von Becker und Rasbach vorgelegten Plans sind für die vorliegende Untersuchung von besonderer Bedeutung:

1. Die Standpfosten sind auf beiden Seiten der Umwehrung wie 'Mikadostäbchen' auf mehr oder weniger gleiche Weise in eine von der Mauer fortweisenden Richtung umgefallen.
2. Trotz einiger Unterschiede spricht die Länge der Holzkohlekonzentrationen der Standpfosten für eine gewisse Einheitlichkeit.
3. Die Holzkohlekonzentrationen der Standpfosten beschreiben meistens eine so regelmäßige Form, dass man darin das originale Bauelement erkennen kann.
4. Von den hölzernen Teilen der Holz-Erde-Mauer haben offensichtlich nur einzelne Standpfosten und Teile der Bretterverkleidung in Form von Holzkohlekonzentrationen erkennbare Spuren hinterlassen.

Dass die Holzkohlekonzentrationen zu beiden Seiten der Holz-Erde-Mauer in einem vergleichbaren Erhaltungszustand gefunden wurden und in Bezug auf die Länge derselben Größenordnung zuzuordnen sind, deutet darauf hin, dass die Länge der Holzkohlekonzentrationen nicht willkürlich sein kann, sondern in Bezug zu einem Bestandteil der Wehrmauer stehen muss, welcher auf der Außen- und Innenseite in derselben Form vorhanden war. Vermutlich ist in den Holzkohlekonzentrationen der Teil der Standpfosten zu sehen, der mit der Bretterverschalung zusammenfiel. Die Länge der Holzkohlekonzentrationen von etwa 2,5 m ist dann ein Hinweis auf die Höhe des holzverschalten Erdwalls. Von der Brustwehr mit Zinnen sowie vom Wehrgang sind in Lahnau-Waldgirmes offenbar keine erkennbaren Spuren erhalten, da sie entweder völlig verbrannt oder verrottet sind.

Tabelle 2 zeigt die Ergebnisse der vorangegangenen Ausführungen im Überblick. Dabei wird unterschieden zwischen den Indikatoren, die sich auf die Höhe der Erdaufschüttung bei zweischaligen Holz-Erde-Mauern beziehen, und denen für die Höhe von Rasensodenmauern. Für Rasensodenmauern gilt, dass die Oberkante des Erdwalls mit einem Spielraum von vielleicht einigen Zentimetern zusammenfällt mit der Lauffläche des Wehrganges. Bei zweischaligen Holz-Erde-Mauern ist dies wohl anders. Wie noch näher erläutert werden wird, muss davon ausgegangen werden, dass der Wehrgang einer Holz-Erde-Mauer in Holz ausgeführt wurde und das Laufniveau deutlich etwas höher lag als die Oberkante des Erdwalls. Die Holzkonstruktion des Wehrgangs bestand wahrscheinlich aus einem Bretterboden, der auf Kinderbalken ruhte, die ihrerseits von den obersten Zugbalken getragen wurden (siehe unten 'Wehrgang und Brustwehr'). Es liegt nahe, dass die Kinderbalken aus Gründen der Dauerhaftigkeit nicht in der Erdfüllung lagen, damit sie nicht unnötig der Einwirkung von Nässe ausgesetzt waren. Unter den Kinderbalken befand sich wahrscheinlich ein Belüftungsraum von begrenzter Höhe. Die gesamte Höhe von Bretterboden, Kinderbalken und Belüftungsraum kann auf etwa 0,4 m geschätzt werden. Dieses Maß ist ein Indiz dafür, wie viel der Wehrgang über der Erdfüllung lag. Viel größer wird dieses Maß nicht gewesen

Tabelle 3. Hinweis für die Höhe des Laufniveaus des Wehrgangs.

Standort	**Höhe Laufniveau Wehrgang**	
	Zweischalige Holz-Erde-Mauer	**Rasensodenmauer**
Lahnau-Waldgirmes	2,9 m (2,5 + 0,4)	
Lincoln	≥ 2,9 m (≥ 2,5 + 0,4)	
Oberaden	3,0 m (2,6 + 0,4)	
Haltern	3,1 m (2,7 + 0,4) (berechnet nach dem Inhalt des Innengrabens)	
Valkenburg Periode 2	3,2 m (2,8 + 0,4)	
Chester		≥ 2,7 m

sein, weil dies bedeutet hätte, dass sich hinter dem obersten Teil der Holzverschalung keine Erdfüllung befunden hätte. Die letztgenannte Situation wäre im Brandfall ungünstig gewesen. Bei den Werten in Tabelle 2 muss deshalb, soweit sie sich auf den Erdwall von zweischaligen Holz-Erde-Mauern beziehen, 0,4 m hinzugerechnet werden, um einen Hinweis auf die Höhe des Laufniveaus des Wehrganges zu erhalten. Das Ergebnis wird in Tabelle 3 gezeigt.

Aus den Werten in Tabelle 3 folgt, dass bei dem vom Verfasser angenommenen Konstruktionsprinzip der Wehrgang der hier untersuchten zweischaligen Holz-Erde-Mauern wahrscheinlich 10 bis 11 römische Fuß über der Erde lag. Für Oberaden beträgt der Wert (2,6 + 0,4 =) 3,0 m, also 10 römischen Fuß (theoretisch 2,96 m).

Holzverschalung im Detail

Es ist ein glücklicher Umstand, dass der Befund von Oberaden mit den *in situ* angetroffenen Holzfunden einen so guten Eindruck von der Holz-Erde-Mauer auf Höhe des Laufhorizonts vermittelt. So konnten die Maße der Standpfosten einfach abgelesen werden. Dabei wurde eine gewisse Variation der Maße festgestellt, die von 0,2 x 0,15 bis 0,2 x 0,2 m reichte, bzw. ⅔ x ½ bis ⅔ x ⅔ römische Fuß. Wie bereits oben erwähnt, waren die Oberadener Standpfosten ohne Ausnahme mit ihrer breiten Seite von 0,2 m bzw. ⅔ römischen Fuß zur Holzverkleidung hin ausgerichtet.

Die Standpfosten wurden nicht nur als Teil von Gebinden konstruiert, sondern bildeten gleichzeitig das Rahmenwerk, an dem die Holzverkleidung befestigt wurde. Hiervon haben sich in Oberaden allerdings keine sicheren Spuren erhalten. Die einzigen Holzelemente, die man in Zusammenhang mit der Verkleidung bringen könnte, sind diverse 0,1 bis 0,15 m breite Bretter, die von Kühlborn auf der Sohle des Lagergrabens an der Westfront gefunden wurden.[122] Diese Bretter können aber genauso gut von anderen Teilen der Holz-Erde-Mauer stammen, wie z.B. dem Wehrgang. Daher hat der Verfasser für die Holzverkleidung nach Anknüpfungspunkten bei vergleichbaren Befunden gesucht. Besonders drei Standorte bieten sich an: Lahnau-Waldgirmes, Valkenburg Periode 2 und das neronische Lager von Lincoln. Bei den dort ausgegrabenen Holz-Erde-Mauern bestand die Holzverkleidung übereinstimmend aus horizontal angebrachten Brettern, die auf der Wallseite gegen die Standpfosten geschlagen waren.[123] An allen drei Orten sind zumindest Spuren der untersten Lage der Bretterverkleidung *in situ* gefunden worden. In Lincoln bestanden diese Spuren aus einer Verfärbung, in Lahnau-Waldgirmes aus einer 1-2 cm dicken Schicht Holzkohle. In Valkenburg haben sich die untersten beiden Lagen der Bretterverkleidung zusammen mit den Standpfosten, auf denen sie befestigt waren, als Holzfunde erhalten (*Abb. 9*).[124] Bevor die Angaben dieser Vergleichsstücke auf die Rekonstruktion übertragen werden können, muss man sich fragen, ob es gerechtfertigt ist, dies zu tun. An Stelle von Brettern könnten in Oberaden im Prinzip auch massivere Bohlen verbaut worden sein. In den Ausführungen über die Vergleichbarkeit von zweischaligen Holz-Erde-Mauern wurde festgestellt, dass eine Holzverkleidung mit Brettern bei Holz-Erde-Mauern vorkam, deren Standpfosten relativ dicht nebeneinander standen: Lahnau-Waldgirmes und Valkenburg Periode 2 gehören zu Gruppe 3 (Mitte-zu-Mitte-Abstand 3⅓ oder 4 römische Fuß), während Lincoln zu Gruppe 2 (Mitte-zu-Mitte-Abstand 5 oder 6 römische Fuß) gehört. Eine massivere Holzverkleidung aus Bohlen darf man bei Holz-Erde-Mauern erwarten, deren Standpfosten gerade relativ weit auseinander stehen. Die Holz-Erde-Mauer von Oberaden gehört zur gleichen Gruppe - Gruppe 3 - wie Lahnau-Waldgirmes und Valkenburg Periode 2, weshalb es nahe liegt, auch für Oberaden eine Bretterverkleidung anzunehmen.

Dem Befund von Valkenburg Periode 2 folgend, darf man für Oberaden von Brettern ausgehen, die

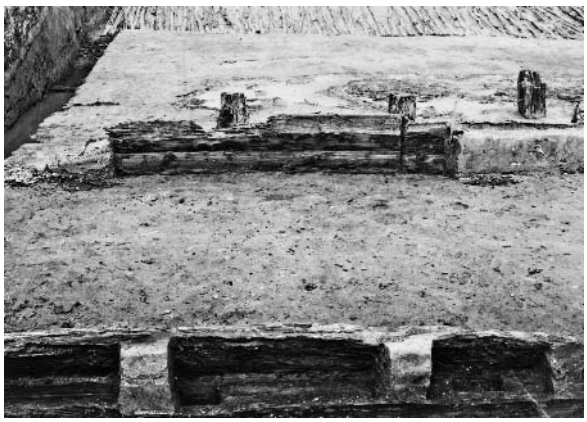

Abb. 9. Valkenburg Kastell Periode 2. Bretterverschalung an der Lagerinnenseite der Holz-Erde-Mauer (Foto Provinciaal Bodemdepot Zuid-Holland).

Abb. 10. Römerlager Oberaden. Historisches Foto der von Kropatscheck freigelegten Holzfunde (Kühlborn 1992).

3 cm stark und 20 cm hoch waren.[125] Die Länge der Bretter ergab sich, wie in Valkenburg, aus dem Abstand der Standpfosten. Denn die Bretter mussten an den Standpfosten befestigt werden. Wie in Valkenburg werden die Bretter zwei Abschnitte lang gewesen sein, also circa 2,40 m (*Abb. 9*).[126] Die Bretter wurden in der Regel genau übereinander - also nicht wie im Läuferverband - befestigt, sodass eine durchgehende Stoßfuge entstand.[127] Van Giffen gibt an, dass in Valkenburg die Bretter mit Nägeln befestigt waren, aber für Oberaden liegt das nicht auf der Hand.[128] Von Schnurbein und Kühlborn haben nämlich während der Ausgrabungen der Holz-Erde-Mauer fast keine Nägel gefunden.[129] Daher kann für Oberaden von Holzdübeln ausgegangen werden. Schließlich stimmen Lahnau-Waldgirmes und Valkenburg Periode 2 noch in einem weiteren Detail überein, das man ebenfalls auf Oberaden übertragen kann. An beiden Standorten wurde das unterste Brett der Holzverkleidung so tief angebracht, dass es nach dem Zuschütten des Pfostengrabens teilweise unter dem Laufhorizont verschwand.[130] Indem das unterste Brett teilweise in den Boden versenkt wurde, verringerte man das Risiko, dass der Fuß des Erdwalls durch Unebenheiten oder durch das Einsinken oder Unterspülen des anschließenden Bodens freigelegt wurde. Letzteres hätte zum stellenweise Absacken des Erdwalls führen können.

In Bezug auf die höher gelegenen Teile der Holz-Erde-Mauer tappt man bei den meisten Befunden fast völlig im Dunkeln, und auch für Oberaden ist dies der schwierigste Teil der Rekonstruktion. Trotzdem ist die Ausgangssituation hier im Vergleich erheblich günstiger als bei Holz-

Abb. 11. Römerlager Oberaden. Konservierte Standpfosten der Holz-Erde-Mauer (Kühlborn 1992).

Erde-Mauern andernorts, weil in Oberaden auch Fragmente vom oberen Teil der Umwehrung als Holzfunde freigelegt wurden. Dies geschah während der Ausgrabungen durch G. Kropatscheck und A. Baum in den Jahren 1906-1908. Die betreffenden Holzfunde sind nur durch die Publikation von Kropatscheck bekannt, da die Originale in den Kriegswirren verloren gegangen sind. Über diese so wichtigen Holzfunde schreibt Kropatscheck Folgendes (*Abb. 10*):

> '(...) vierkantige Pfostenteile mit durchgehendem, rechteckig geformtem Zapfenloch, das das Verbindungsglied der einander gegenüberstehenden Pfosten halten musste; darüber eine Einkerbung für ein Brett passend; darüber endlich mehrfach noch eine sorgfältig ausgearbeitete, sich nach oben hin verjüngende Auskehlung als Abschluss, also die oberen Teile der Palisadenpfosten, die in den Graben gestürzt waren (...).'[131]

Von den betreffenden Funden gibt es ein Foto, das bereits von Kühlborn publiziert wurde (*Abb. 10*).[132] Darauf sieht man das Stück Holz mit durchgehendem, rechteckig geformtem Zapfenloch, aber auch einen deutlich dünneren Balken, durch den an einem Ende ein Keil gesteckt worden war. Die Stärke des dünneren Balkens stimmt ungefähr überein mit der Größe des Zapfenloches im stärkeren Balken. Dem Zitat und dem Foto nach zu urteilen, ist das Stück Holz, das als Palisadenpfosten gedeutet wurde, nicht *in situ* gefunden worden. Kropatschecks Identifizierung muss darum darauf beruhen, dass er in den Maßen des betreffenden Holzfragments die Abmessungen der *in situ* gefundenen Standpfosten erkannte.[133] Das Zapfenloch beweist, dass der Pfosten mit der auf dem Foto sichtbaren Seite 'auf das Verbindungsglied der einander gegenüberstehenden Pfosten', also den Zugbalken, ausgerichtet war.[134] Dadurch ist die Breite der vom Pfosten sichtbaren Seite bekannt, nämlich 0,2 m bzw. ⅔ römische Fuß (siehe oben). Nun können die übrigen Maße des Pfostens und die der anderen auf dem Foto gezeigten Holzfunde geschätzt werden.

Kropatschecks Holzfunde ermöglichen in erster Linie eine Rekonstruktion des oberen Bereiches des Gebindes. Der auf dem Foto sichtbare massivere Balken bildet dem Ausgräber zufolge zusammen mit der 'nach oben hin verjüngenden Auskehlung als Abschluss' den oberen Teil eines Palisadenpfostens, was aufgrund der Text- und Bildinformationen plausibel erscheint.[135] Damit wird es sich bei dem gezeigten Zapfenloch um die höchste Verbindung zwischen dem Standpfosten und einem Zugbalken handeln. Man könnte vermuten, dass der auf dem Foto ebenfalls zu sehende 'Balken mit Keil' dieser höchste Zugbalken war. Dieser wäre dann durch das Zapfenloch gesteckt worden, wonach die Verbindung an der Außenseite mit dem Keil, einem sogenannten Zapfenschloss, fixiert wurde. Man spricht dann von einem durchgezapften Zugbalken. Obwohl nach Meinung des Verfassers der dünnere 'Balken mit Keil' in der Tat ein Zugbalken ist, ist nicht anzunehmen, dass dieser in Zusammenhang mit dem auf dem Foto Kropatschecks gezeigten Zapfenloch zu betrachten ist (*Abb. 11*). Ein deutlicher Hinweis darauf ist die Einkerbung, die auf dem Foto rund um das Zapfenloch zu sehen ist. Diese Einkerbung deutet darauf hin, dass der Zugbalken, der mittels einer Verzapfung mit dem Standpfosten verbunden war, in letzten eingelassen wurde. Die Tiefe der Einkerbung war nicht konstant und nahm zu einer Seite des Standpfostens hin (auf dem Foto die Ober- bzw. linke Seite) allmählich ab, bis sie fast gar nicht mehr vorhanden war. Dies wird mit der unregelmäßigen Form des Standpfostens zusammenhängen, der nicht völlig rechteckig und außerdem verzogen war. Um den Zugbalken trotzdem eng an den Standpfosten anzuschließen, musste eine gerade Fläche geschaffen werden, die nur vertieft im Pfosten liegen konnte und die als Einkerbung erkennbar ist. Damit liefert die Oberfläche der Einkerbung ein verlässliches Maß für die Stärke des obersten Zugbalkens. Ausgehend vom bereits festgestellten Breitenmaß von 0,2 m, betrug die Höhe des Zugbalkens etwa 0,3 m. Hiermit steht fest, dass der oberste Zugbalken viel massiver war als der dünnere 'Balken mit Keil' auf dem Foto von Kropatscheck. Es ist anzunehmen, dass der oberste Zugbalken - analog zum 'Balken mit Keil' - durch den Standpfosten gezapft und mit einem Keil fixiert wurde. Der oberste Zugbalken war damit ein durchgezapfter Ankerbalken.[136]

Beide Verschalungen der Holz-Erde-Mauer werden nicht ausschließlich durch den obersten Zugbalken miteinander verbunden gewesen sein. Wie bereits oben angemerkt, ist für Moers-Asberg Kastell II Periode 2 und Kastell Valkenburg Periode 2 das Vorhandensein von am Fuße der Konstruktion angebrachten Zugbalken nachgewiesen. Es liegt auf der Hand, dass auch die Holz-Erde-Mauer von Oberaden untere Zugbalken aufwies. Da in Oberaden im Gegensatz zu Moers-Asberg keine Quergräben gefunden wurden, muss der unterste Zugbalken oberhalb des römischen Laufhorizonts gelegen haben. Man kann davon ausgehen, dass außer den obersten und den untersten Zugbalken noch mindestens eine Zwischenlage existierte. Das Anbringen einer solchen Zwischenlage von Zugbalken bot nämlich den großen Vorteil, dass die vom Erdwall verursachte Biegespannung im Standpfosten erheblich reduziert wurde. Ein nicht nachprüfbarer Hinweis auf das Vorhandensein von exakt einer Zwischenlage findet sich in der von Chr. Albrecht vorgelegten Rekonstruktionszeichnung. Dort sind pro Standpfosten drei Zapfenlöcher übereinander abgebildet, wofür er vielleicht einen von ihm nicht erwähnten Hinweis hatte.[137]

Wenn wir die Indizien richtig interpretieren, waren die Maße des obersten Zugbalkens und die Maße derjenigen Zugbalken die im unteren Teil der Konstruktion vorkamen, verschieden. Zur Untermauerung dieser Differenzierung sei angemerkt, dass die Zugbalken, die in Valkenburg direkt über dem römischen Laufhorizont *in situ* aufgefunden wurden, viel leichter waren als die obersten Zugbalken von Oberaden, nämlich 0,2 x 0,1 gegenüber 0,2 x 0,3 m.[138] Das deutet darauf

hin, dass die obersten Zugbalken eine teilweise andere Funktion hatten als die übrigen. Es liegt nahe, dass sie nicht nur die beiden Holzverschalungen zusammenhielten, sondern zugleich den hölzernen Wehrgang trugen. Die weiter unten in der Konstruktion platzierten Zugbalken wurden dagegen ausschließlich in Richtung ihrer Achse auf Zug belastet und konnten deshalb leichter ausgeführt werden. Es ist sehr wohl möglich, dass es sich bei dem von Kropatscheck gezeigten 'Balken mit Keil' - schätzungsweise 0,08 x 0,2 m - um einen der tiefer gelegenen Zugbalken handelt.

Die Tatsache, dass die obersten Zugbalken genauso breit waren wie die Standpfosten, impliziert, dass ab dem Niveau der Unterkante der Zugbalken kein Platz mehr vorhanden war, um Bretter der Holzverschalung zu befestigen. Infolgedessen wäre, wenn man keine weiteren Maßnahmen ergriffen hätte, in de Oberzone der Holzverschalung ein Streifen so hoch wie der Zugbalken offen geblieben. Es lässt sich allerdings vermuten, dass die Erbauer in jedem obersten Brett der Holzverschalung Aussparungen angebracht haben, damit das Brett zum Teil den Zugbalken umgreifen konnte, damit der offene Streifen zum Teil geschlossen war. Über dem obersten Brett wird man einen Streifen von möglicherweise etwa 0,15 m offen gelassen haben, um den Raum zwischen Wehrgangboden und Erdfüllung belüften zu können. Ohne diesen Streifen hätte an dieser Stelle bei Nässe ein für die Dauerhaftigkeit der Holzkonstruktion ungünstiges Klima geherrscht. Es ist nicht anzunehmen, dass der offene Streifen von etwa 0,15 m ein Sicherheitsrisiko darstellte.

Abwassersystem

In Bezug auf das Innere der Umwehrung war bisher die Rede vom aufgeschütteten Erdwall und den Zugbalken, die quer durch den Erdwall verlaufen sein müssen. Es gibt allerdings Gründe für die Annahme, dass das Innere der Umwehrung komplexer war und über ein Entwässerungssystem verfügte. Fest steht, dass der Wehrgang niemals eine wasserdichte Konstruktion gewesen sein kann und das Regenwasser von oben eindringen konnte. Dies war aus verschiedenen Gründen nicht unbedingt wünschenswert. In einem nassen Erdwall ist die Haltbarkeit der hölzernen Konstruktionsteile, so z.B. die bereits genannten Zugbalken und die Holzverkleidung, bedeutend geringer als in einem trockenen Erdwall. Außerdem ist die innere Reibung einer nassen Erd- oder Lehmfüllung viel geringer als die einer Aufschüttung in trockenem Zustand.[139] Dadurch drückte eine nasse Füllung mit größerer Kraft gegen die Holzverkleidung als eine trockene. Letztlich hätte das Regenwasser, wenn keine entsprechenden Vorkehrungen getroffen wären, die Sichtseite der Holz-Erde-Mauer verschmutzt. Regenwasser, das in den Boden des Erdwalls drang, wird nämlich teilweise zur Außenseite des Erdwalls hin abgeflossen sein, um von dort zwischen den Ritzen der horizontal angebrachten Brettern oder Bohlen nach außen und damit über die Außenseite der Holzverkleidung abzufließen. Dabei blieben Erd- oder Lehmpartikel auf der Holzkonstruktion zurück. Dies ließ sich mit relativ einfachen Maßnahmen verhindern, indem Vorkehrungen getroffen wurden, um das Regenwasser aus dem Inneren der Wehrmauer in Richtung Lagergraben abzuleiten. Obwohl der lückenhafte Befund der Holz-Erde-Mauern bisher keinerlei Hinweise auf ein derartiges Abwassersystem ergeben hat, ist der Verfasser geneigt, dessen ehemalige Existenz zu vermuten.

Bei der Rekonstruktion wurde davon ausgegangen, dass das Entwässerungssystem aus den Brettern gebaut wurde, die für die Holzverschalung verwendet wurden, also 3 cm dick und 20 cm hoch (*Abb. 12*). Aus drei derartigen Brettern wurde in der Längsachse der Erdaufschüttung eine Rinne gebaut. Die Oberseite des Erdwalls wurde in Richtung der mittig gelegenen Rinne, dem Hauptkanal, hin leicht abgeböscht. Um zu verhindern, dass die aufrechtstehenden Seitenwände der Rinne innerhalb kurzer Zeit durch die aufgeschüttete Erde eingedrückt würden, brachte man in regelmäßigem Abstand Abstandshalter in Form kleiner Latten an. Vom Hauptkanal aus sorgten Abfuhrrinnen für eine Entwässerung in den Lagergraben. Diese Rinnen waren ebenfalls aus drei Brettern gebaut. Da die Abflussrinnen durch die Bretterverkleidung der Holz-Erde-Mauer verliefen, wurden darin in regelmäßigem Abstand Aussparungen mit einer Höhe von wahrscheinlich einer Brettbreite, also 20 cm, eingelassen. Dieses Detail ähnelt der Art und Weise, wie im Archäologischen Park Xanten der Anschluss der einzelnen Häuser an den Straßenkanal rekonstruiert ist.[140] Ein solches Entwässerungssystem war flexibel genug, um sich eventuellen Absackungen des Erdwalls anzupassen, ohne eine tüchtige Entwässerung zu gefährden. Auch wenn die Erde in direkter Umgebung des Hauptkanals mit der Zeit zum Teil weggespült würde, hätte dies keine Auswirkungen auf die Entwässerung. Bei Regen würden sich auf der Erdfüllung Wasserpfützen bilden, die als Brücken das Wasser, das den Erdwall erreichte, in den Kanal abführten.

Aufgrund des starken Hinweises, dass der oberste Zugbalken schwerer ausgeführt war als die Zugbalken im unteren Teil der Konstruktion, konnte bereits geschlussfolgert werden, dass der erstgenannte die Last des Wehrgangs getragen haben muss. Das kann nur der Fall gewesen sein, wenn der Wehrgang als Holzkonstruktion ausgeführt war. Somit müssen wir ausschließen, dass die Erdaufschüttung selbst als Wehrgang diente oder dass Bretter oder Knüppel direkt auf den Erdwall gelegt wurden, um eine Lauffläche zu bilden. Die beiden letztgenannten Optionen wären auch in Anbetracht der örtlichen Bodenbeschaffenheit und der gezimmerten Konstruktion nicht glaubwürdig gewesen. Nach einem kräftigen Regenschauer verwandelt sich in Oberaden die oberste lehmartige Bodenschicht in einen schwer passierbaren Brei. Bei einem Wehrgang aus diesem Boden, wäre eine gute Begehbarkeit nicht gewährleistet gewesen. Außerdem ist bei einer Holz-Erde-Mauer mit einer holzverschalten Innenseite die Wehrgangebene durch die Holzkonstruktion fixiert. Das lässt sich nicht mit einem Wehrgang aus Erde reimen, weil dabei Absackungen auftreten.[141]

Wenn man von einer Konstruktion mit schwerer ausgeführten obersten Zugbalken ausgeht, bieten sich für die Ausführung der Lauffläche zwei Möglichkeiten. Diese kann aus Hölzern gebaut sein, die direkt auf dem Zugbalken befestigt wurden oder aus Hölzern, die auf Kinderbalken angebracht wurden, die ihrerseits von den jetzt als Unterzügen funktionierenden Zugbalken getragen wurden. Im ersten Fall hätten die Hölzer der Lauffläche in der Längsrichtung der Umwehrung gelegen. Sie hätten imstande gewesen sein müssen, die variable Belastung, die sich aus der Nutzung des Wehrgangs ergibt, zu tragen und gleichzeitig der Lauffläche genügend Steifigkeit zu verleihen. Die Bodenbrettdicke hätte daher größer sein müssen, je mehr die Gebinde auseinander standen. Bei den Holz-Erde-Mauern von Gruppe 1 (Mitte-zu-Mitte-Abstand 3,0 m) würde die Detaillierung mit in der Länge der Umwehrung direkt auf den Zugbalken befestigten Hölzern die Verwendung von vielleicht 0,12 m dicken oder noch stärkeren Bohlen verlangt haben. Im zweiten Fall lagen die Hölzer der Lauffläche in der Querrichtung. Wegen der Verwendung von Kinderbalken wurde die Bodenbrettdicke nicht vom Abstand der Gebinde untereinander diktiert. Für die Höhe der Kinderbalken kann ein Wert zwischen 6 und 8 Daumen (0,15 bis 0,20 m) vermutet werden.[142]

Obwohl in Oberaden die Gebinde relativ nahe beieinander standen, war ihr Abstand untereinander nach römischen Maßstäben groß um direkt mit Brettern überspannt zu sein. Bei einer solchen Detaillierung würde man aufgrund von andernorts nachgewiesenen, zu hölzernen Balkenlagen gehörenden Balkenaussparungen, eher einen Mitte-zu-Mitte-Abstand von ½ römischen Fuß (0,44 m) erwarten.[143]

Eine zweite und weniger gravierende Überlegung ist, dass bei eventuellen Unebenheiten in der Form der Hölzer, aus denen die Lauffläche bestand, quergelegte Hölzer eine bessere Begeh-

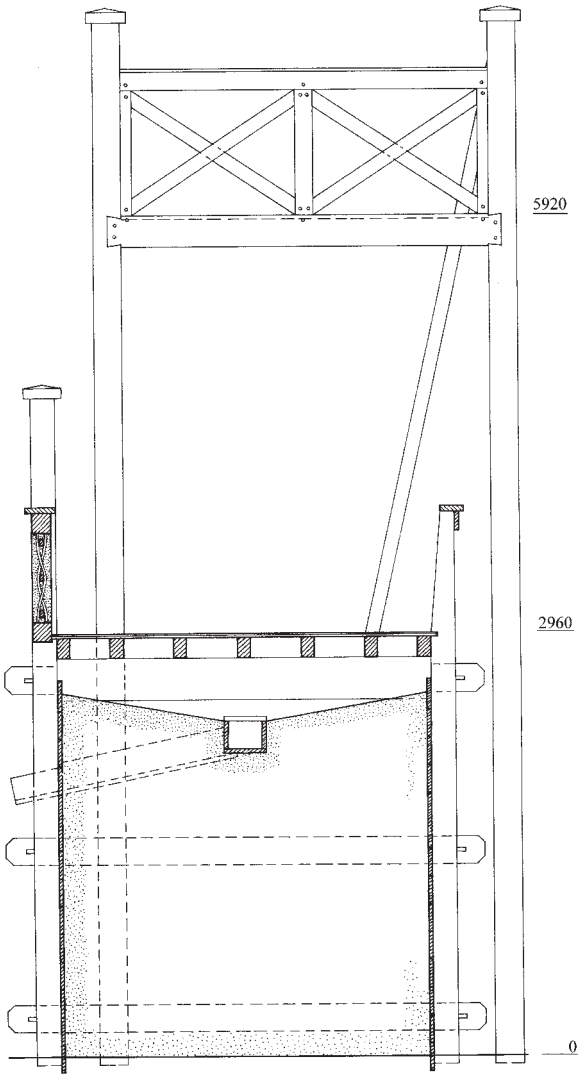

Abb. 12. Römerlager Oberaden. Endergebnis der Forschung: rekonstruierter Schnitt der Holz-Erde-Mauer (Rekonstruktion und Zeichnung Kees Peterse – © PANSA BV).

barkeit boten als Hölzer, die in der Längsrichtung der Umwehrung angebracht wurden. Sehr evident ist das für Knüppelroste und Knüppelwege; aber auch zum Beispiel rechtwinklig geschnittene Hölzer, aus denen die Decke auf der Trajanssäule gezeigten Brücken gebildet war, lagen in Querrichtung.[144]

Aufgrund der vorangegangenen Überlegungen wird für den Boden des Wehrgangs von einer Konstruktion mit Kinderbalken ausgegangen. Wegen der begrenzten Überspannung brauchen diese nicht höher als um 0,15 m gewesen zu sein. Bei dieser Lösung machte es im Prinzip keinen Unterschied, ob die Standpfosten nun 1 oder 3 m weit auseinander standen. Wenn es erforderlich war, konnten bei weiter auseinander gesetzten Pfosten die Kinderbalken massiver ausgeführt werden. Dadurch konnte die Konstruktion des Wehrgangs für die drei, nach ihrem Mitte-zu-Mitte-Abstand der Standpfosten unterschiedenen Gruppen einheitlich geplant und ausgeführt werden.

Bleibt die Frage nach der exakten Beschaffenheit der Hölzer, aus der die Lauffläche des Wehrgangs gebaut wurde. Dabei muss man sich zwischen bearbeiteten und kaum bearbeiteten Hölzern, nämlich Brettern beziehungsweise Knüppeln entscheiden. Aus dem Befund von Kastell Valkenburg Periode 2 und - in geringerem Maße - von Lahnau-Waldgirmes und Lincoln geht hervor, dass die Erbauer sich die Mühe gemacht haben, die Holzverschalung des Erdwalls aus bewerkten Hölzern in Form von Brettern anstelle von Rundhölzern auszuführen.[145] Es liegt dann nahe, dass für diese Mauern auch das Laufniveau des Wehrgangs mit Brettern ausgeführt wurde. Dass Bretter - oder eventuell dickere Bohlen - für diese Zwecke benutzt wurden, geht aus der Trajanssäule hervor, die Holztürme sowie Brücken zeigt, deren Fußböden statt aus Rundhölzern aus Brettern oder Bohlen bestanden.[146] Wie oben schon erklärt wurde, war die Holz-Erde-Mauer von Oberaden nicht nur wegen der zweiseitigen Holzverschalung, sondern auch wegen des Mitte-zu-Mitte-Abstands der Standpfosten mit der von Lahnau-Waldgirmes und Valkenburg Periode 2 verwandt, aufgrund dessen auch für Oberaden ein Wehrgang aus Brettern statt Rundhölzern zu erwarten ist.

Wehrgänge aus Rundhölzern scheinen eher den in statischer Hinsicht weniger ausgeklügelten Rasensodenmauern vorbehalten gewesen zu sein, die anders als die zweiseitigen Holz-Erde-Mauern nicht die Möglichkeit boten, den Wehrgang als freitragende Konstruktion auszuführen. Beispiele solcher an den aufgeschütteten Erdwall gebundenen Wehrgänge findet man, wie gesagt, auf der Trajanssäule.[147] Diese zeigt mehrfach eine Umwehrung, die aus vor Ort im Boden abgestochenen Bausteinen errichtet wurde. Bei diesen Konstruktionen ist auf dem Niveau des Wehrgangs

Abb. 13. Trajanssäule Tafel LXXXII, Szene CIX zeigt auf dem Niveau des Wehrgangs zwischen zwei Randbalken eingefasste Rundhölzer (Cichorius 1896-1900).

Abb. 14. Trajanssäule Tafel XV Szene XX zeigt Wehrmauer mit Zinnenbergen und Zinnenöffnungen (Cichorius 1896-1900).

ein bemerkenswertes Detail dargestellt: Zwischen zwei horizontalen Bändern befindet sich eine Lage runder Elemente, die sich meistens, aber nicht immer, seitlich berühren (*Abb. 13*). Die runden Elemente werden im Allgemeinen als Rundhölzer angesehen, aus denen die Lauffläche des Wehrgangs gebildet wurde.[148] Die Rundhölzer waren am Ende von zwei Randbalken eingefasst, von denen der untere als Druckverteiler diente und zugleich verhindern sollte, dass sich eventuelle Unebenheiten im Untergrund auf die Lauffläche auswirkten, während der obere Randbalken die Hölzer an Ort und Stelle hielt.[149] Eine Lauffläche aus derartigen Rundhölzern - oder Knüppelrost - wurde für den Wehrgang der Rasensodenmauer von Kastell The Lunt in Baginton angenommen, wie aus der Rekonstruktionszeichnung hervorgeht.[150]

Es ist einleuchtend, dass Holz-Erde-Mauern auf der Feindseite eine Brustwehr hatten. Abweichend von der durch Albrecht vorgelegten Rekonstruktion der Oberadener Holz-Erde-Mauer, wird allgemein angenommen, dass die Brustwehr mit Zinnen versehen war.[151] Hinweise darauf beziehen sich auf Torf- und Rasensodenmauern und nicht direkt auf Holz-Erde-Mauern. Da allerdings die diversen Umwehrungstypen in hohem Maße vergleichbar gewesen sein müssen im Hinblick auf die Aufgaben, die sie zu erfüllen hatten, werden Unterschiede in der Ausführung vor allem von praktischer Bedeutung gewesen sein und sich nicht oder kaum auf die strategische Essenz der Form ausgewirkt haben: Wenn Rasensodenmauern über eine Brustwehr mit Zinnen verfügten, dann auch Holz-Erde-Mauern. Ein erster Hinweis auf das Vorhandensein von Zinnen bei Befestigungsanlagen, die nicht aus Stein errichtet wurden, bietet die Trajanssäule (*Abb. 14*).[152] Aber auch schriftliche Quellen liefern deutliche Hinweise. In seiner Schilderung der Belagerung von Alesia berichtet Caesar, dass er einen Wall errichten ließ, der mit einer Brustwehr mit Zinnen versehen war.[153] Auch Vegetius spricht von einer Brustwehr mit Zinnen, wenn er erläutert, wie bei feindlicher Bedrohung die Befestigung eines Lagers angelegt werden sollte:

> 'Daraufhin errichtet man einen Wall, der (...) so verstärkt wird, dass die Erde nicht abrutscht. Darauf wird eine Konstruktion aus Zinnen und Türmen wie bei einer Mauer angelegt.' (3.8.)[154]

Da jetzt die Anwesenheit einer Brustwehr mit Zinnen vorausgesetzt werden darf, kann die Aufmerksamkeit auf den Rhythmus von Zinnenbergen und Zinnenöffnungen gerichtet werden. Im Allgemeinen wird angenommen, dass sich die Standpfosten der Holzverschalung in der Brustwehr fortsetzten.[155] Das war die effektivste Art, um die Brustwehr so stabil wie möglich gegen das horizontale Einwirken feindlicher Geschosse zu machen. Rasensodenmauern waren in dieser Hinsicht im Nachteil, weil sie meistens über keine bis zum anstehenden Boden durchgehende Pfosten verfügten.[156] Die Widerstandsfähigkeit ihrer Brustwehr gegen die horizontalen Kräfte von Geschossen musste durch eine hölzerne Hilfskonstruktion erreicht werden, die im aufgeschütteten Erdwall verankert wurde.[157] Durchgehende Standpfosten implizieren, dass die Breite der Zinnen und die Weite der Zinnenöffnungen nur der Standardweite der Standpfosten folgen konnten, sodass im Wechsel von Zinnenbergen und Zinnenöffnungen der Abstand der Standpfosten als Modul erkennbar war. Für Oberaden hatte dieses Modul, wie bereits angegeben, eine Länge von circa 1,2 m. Wenn man also den Wechsel von Zinnen und Zinnenöffnungen feststellen will, so müssen ganz konkret beide als Vielfache des als Modul definierten Mitte-zu-Mitte-Abstands der Standpfosten ausgedruckt werden.

Anhand von erhaltenen Zinnendecksteinen aus den Limeskastellen wurde schon früher abgeleitet, dass sie zu Zinnen mit einer Breite zwischen 0,55 bis 1,2 m gehörten.[158] Dieses Ergebnis deckt sich mit den Maßen, die Dietwulf Baatz für erhaltene Zinnen von spätrepublikanischen und frühkaiserzeitliche Befestigungsanlagen in Italien angibt, nämlich 1,1 m für die aus dem späten zweiten oder frühen 1. Jahrhundert v. Chr. datierende Verstärkung der Stadtmauer von Fondi und 0,6 m für die tiberische Phase des Praetorianerlagers in Rom.[159] Da man davon ausgehen kann, dass sich in Oberaden die Standpfosten bis in die Brustwehr fortsetzten, war die Breite der Zinnen gebunden an ein Mindestmaß von einmal dem als Modul fungierenden Mitte-zu-Mitte-Abstand der Standpfosten. Breiter - zwei oder mehr Module - werden die Zinnen im Hinblick auf die vorangegangenen Überlegungen nicht gewesen sein, sodass die Zinnenbreite definitiv auf einmal das Modulmaß festgelegt werden kann. Da die Standpfosten Bestandteil der Zinnenberge waren, entsprach die Breite der letzteren einem Modul von circa 1,2 m zuzüglich zweimal der halben Standpfostenbreite, (circa 1,2 + 2 x 0,1 =) circa 1,4 m.

Die Ableitung der Weite der Zinnenöffnungen ist schwieriger, weil das Studium der Decksteine und anderer Hinweise hier wesentlich weniger Anhaltspunkte liefert. Indizien unterschiedlicher Art und Zuverlässigkeit deuten auf Weiten von

rund 1 m bis circa 2,9 m.[160] Damit bleibt immer noch die Wahl zwischen dem einfachen, zweifachen oder dreifachen Modulmaß. Man muss dabei bedenken, dass die Weite der Zinnenöffnungen nicht unabhängig war, sondern eine Reflexion der zur Verfügung stehenden Verteidigungswaffen. Nach Baatz waren dies in den Militärlagern vor allem Lanzen und Steine, welche mit der Hand geworfen wurden.[161] Solche Waffen hätten relativ breite Zinnenöffnungen erforderlich gemacht, was möglicherweise auch für die Schleuderkugeln aus Blei gegolten hat, mit denen sich die im tiberischen Kastell Velsen stationierten Römer verteidigen mussten, als sie 28 n. Chr. von den aufständischen Friesen angegriffen wurden.[162] Im Laufe der Zeit wurden die Zinnenöffnungen schmaler, was Baatz mit der Rolle der Bogenschützen und einer intensiven Nutzung verschiedener Arten von kleinen Katapulten in der Spätantike in Zusammenhang bringt.[163] Aufgrund dieser Überlegungen muss für Oberaden mit relativ breiten Zinnenöffnungen gerechnet werden, basierend auf dem zweifachen oder dreifachen Modulmaß.

Die Entscheidung zwischen zwei oder drei Modulen kann aufgrund folgender Beobachtungen getroffen werden. In der Analyse des Mitte-zu-Mitte-Abstands der Standpfosten wurde auf das Vorkommen eines Standardmaßes von entweder 10 oder 12 römischen Fuß hingewiesen. Bei einigen Holz-Erde-Mauern, die als Gruppe 1 definiert wurden, blieb das Standardmaß ungegliedert. Bei anderen wurde das Standardmaß durch dazwischen gesetzte Standpfosten halbiert (Gruppe 2) oder gedrittelt (Gruppe 3), blieb aber immer erkennbar. Beim Studium der steinernen Zinnen fiel auf, dass die Summe von Zinnenbreite und Weite der Zinnenöffnungen einiger für diese Analyse relevanter Befestigungsanlagen gleich dem Standardwert der Holz-Erde-Mauer ist, nämlich 10 oder 12 römische Fuß. Ian Richmond notiert, dass die Zinnen des Praetorianerlagers von Rom in einem Rhythmus von 12 römischen Fuß errichtet wurden, und Baatz gibt für Fondi 3,5 m als Summe von Zinnenbreite und Zinnenöffnung an, was wahrscheinlich ebenfalls 12 römischen Fuß entspricht.[164] Dagegen waren die Zinnen der Stadtmauer von Verona (3. Jahrhundert) nach Angaben von Baatz in einem Rhythmus von 3,0 m bzw. 10 römischen Fuß platziert.[165] Auch die Rekonstruktion der Saalburg folgt diesem Standardmaß. Jacobi entschied sich auf der Basis erhaltener Zinnendecksteine für Zinnen mit einer 'Normalbreite' von 0,88 m, während er für die Zinnenöffnungen von 2,42 bis 2,82 m ausging.[166] Die Summe dieser Maße beträgt 3,3 bis 3,7 m. Aufgrund der bisherigen Beobachtungen entsteht der Eindruck, dass die Zinnenbreite und die Weite der Zinnenöffnungen zwar variieren, aber ihre Summe und damit der Rhythmus der Brustwehr eine Konstante bildete, indem breitere Zinnen mit schmaleren Zinnenöffnungen kombiniert wurden und umgekehrt. Wenn die Zinnen von Oberaden in einem mit der Steinarchitektur vergleichbaren Rhythmus errichtet wurden, entsprach die Summe von Zinnenbreite und Weite einer Zinnenöffnung dem Standardwert der Standpfosten. Wie gesagt betrug dieser Wert in Oberaden dem dreifachen Mitte-zu-Mitte-Abstand der Standpfosten (Gruppe 3) bzw. dem dreifachen Modulmaß, also circa 3,6 m. Unter der Voraussetzung, dass die Standpfosten sich in der Brustwehr fortsetzten, wurde bereits oben für die Zinnenbreite das einfache Modulmaß festgelegt. Dann bleiben für die Weite der Zinnenöffnung zwei Module übrig. Da sich die Breite der Standpfosten auf die Breite der Zinnenberge auswirkte, wird die Weite der Zinnenöffnungen eine Pfostenbreite schmaler gewesen sein als das zweifache Modulmaß, also (2 x circa 1,2 – 2 x 0,1 =) circa 2,2 m.

Auf die Höhe der Brustwehr gibt es keinen direkten Hinweis außer der Angabe bei Pseudo-Hygin, dass die Brustwehr von bescheidenen Ausmaßen war.[167] In der Literatur wird wohl zurecht im Allgemeinen von einer mannshohen Brustwehr ausgegangen. Bei der Rekonstruktion am Römerberg in Bergkamen-Oberaden wird die Spitze der Zinnen auf einer Höhe von 16 römischen Fuß über der Erde und 6 römischen Fuß über dem Wehrgang (theoretisch 4,74 bzw. 1,78 m) liegen.[168]

Da nunmehr die Form der Brustwehr mit Zinnen feststeht, bleibt die Frage ihrer Ausführung. Nach Kropatscheck und Albrecht bestand die Brustwehr aus mit Lehm verschmiertem Flechtwerk, wovon beide im Lagergraben zahlreiche Spuren fanden.[169] Ein Beweis für die Existenz von aus Flechtwerk hergestellten Brustwehren - wenn auch nicht mit Lehm verschmiert - findet sich bei Caesar.[170] Ein Nachteil einer Brustwehr aus Lehmflechtwerk besteht darin, dass eine Lehmkonstruktion für Wassererosion anfällig ist. Wenn das Lehmflechtwerk direkt den Witterungseinflüssen ausgesetzt war - wie dies im Prinzip bei einer Brustwehr der Fall war - konnte die Haltbarkeit dann auch eingeschränkt sein.[171] Wahrscheinlich wird deshalb in der Literatur oftmals für Holz-Erde-Mauern eine Brustwehr mit Brettern angenommen, auch wenn es dafür keinen direkten Beweis gibt. Ein Argument für eine derartige Bretterverkleidung könnte man aus den Befunden

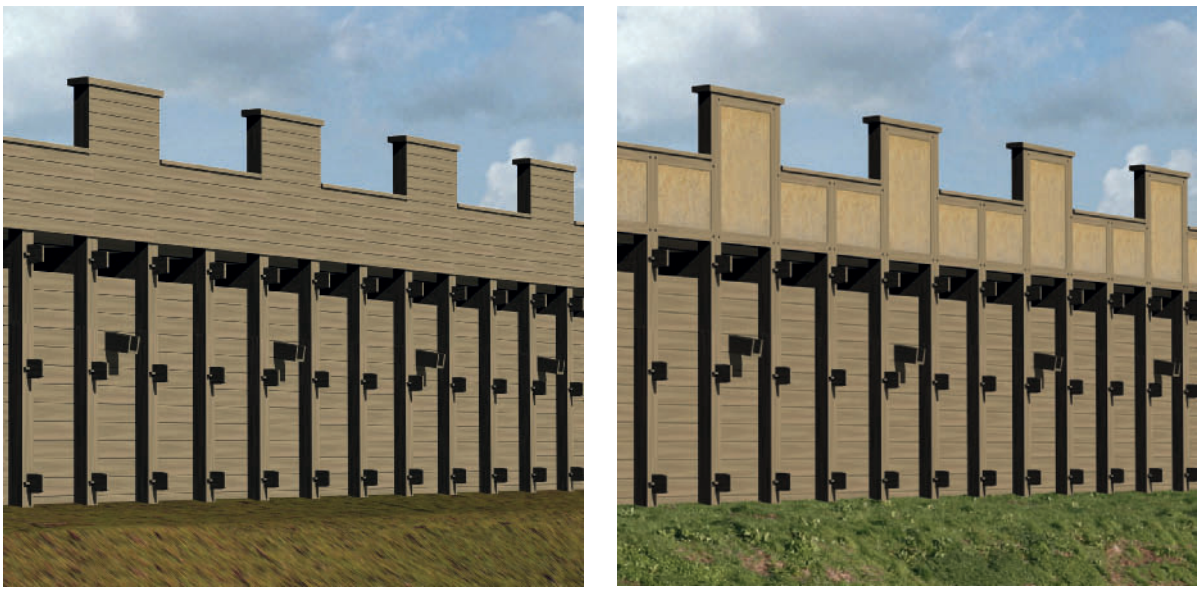

Abb. 15. Römerlager Oberaden. Brustwehr mit Brettern verschalt und Brustwehr aus mit Lehm verschmiertem Flechtwerk (Rekonstruktion Kees Peterse, Computerstill Gerard Jonker – © PANSA BV).

von Oberaden und Oberstimm ableiten, wo im Lagergraben Bretter gefunden wurden. Kühlborn erwähnt Bretter, die nahe der Grabenspitze in einer Position parallel zur Innenböschung gefunden wurden.[172] Im Lagergraben von Kastell Oberstimm fanden sich nach Schönberger 'ein brettartiges Stück aus Waldkieferholz und ein kurzer, vierkantiger Balken aus Eiche', über die er sagt, dass sie mit 'ziemlicher Wahrscheinlichkeit von den hölzernen Zinnen der Holz-Erde-Mauer stammen dürfen'.[173] Obwohl diese Funde nicht zwingend eine Brustwehr mit Bretterverkleidung implizieren - die Bretter können beispielsweise auch von der Holzverkleidung des Erdwalls stammen oder die Lauffläche des Wehrgangs gebildet haben - wurde diese Option für Oberaden näher untersucht.

Bei früheren Rekonstruktionen zeigt sich, dass wenn man für die Brustwehr einmal eine Verkleidung aus Brettern annimmt, man davon ausgeht, dass diese auf der Seite des Wehrgangs, also der Innenseite, gegen die Standpfosten der Außenverschalung geschlagen waren.[174] Die Bretterverkleidung lässt man dabei bis zur Oberseite der Brustwehr durchlaufen (*Abb. 6*). Gegen diese Lösung sprechen jedoch zwei Argumente. Hätte man die Bretterverkleidung auf der Innenseite der Standpfosten angebracht, wäre auf der Außenseite nicht das Niveau des Wehrganges zu erkennen gewesen. Die Bretterverkleidung hätte sich dann von der Berme bis zur Spitze der Zinnenberge ohne Unterbrechung fortgesetzt. Das steht im Widerspruch zu zeitgenössischen und späteren steinernen Befestigungsanlagen, wo - soweit bekannt - das Niveau des Wehrgangs auf der Außenseite mit einem Gesims sichtbar gemacht wurde. Ein Beispiel dafür ist die bereits mehrfach genannte tiberische Phase des Praetorianerlagers in Rom.[175] Es darf bezweifelt werden, dass hölzerne Befestigungsanlagen dieser Tradition optisch nicht entsprochen haben. Ferner kann man begründen, dass wenn die Bretter auf der Innenseite angebracht worden wären, sie in Bezug auf die Konstruktion auf der falschen Seite der Standpfosten säßen. Man muss bedenken, dass die Bretterverkleidung die Soldaten auf dem Wehrgang vor jeglicher Art von Geschossen schützen sollte. Wenn sich die Bretter auf der Innenseite befanden, musste die durch ein Geschoss einwirkende Kraft von der Verbindung zwischen Brett und Standpfosten aufgefangen werden, welche aus hölzernen Dübeln oder Nägeln bestand. Es ist nicht unvorstellbar, dass sich das Brett dabei lösen konnte. Waren die Bretter dagegen auf der Außenseite gegen den Standpfosten geschlagen, konnte die einwirkende Kraft über den Standpfosten in der Konstruktion absorbiert werden, wobei die Verbindung zwischen Brett und Standpfosten wesentlich günstiger und weniger belastet würde. Indem man von einer Befestigung der Bretterverschalung auf der Außenseite der Brustwehr ausgeht, löst sich auch der erste Widerspruch auf, denn auf der Höhe

des Wehrganges sprang die Bretterverkleidung von der Innen- auf die Außenseite, wodurch die Brustwehr deutlich vom Unterbau unterschieden wurde (*Abb. 15*).[176]

Wenn jedoch das von Kropatscheck ausgegrabene, mit Lehm verschmierte Flechtwerk nicht von der Brustwehr stammen soll, woher kommt es dann? Die Holz-Erde-Mauer bietet keinen weiteren plausiblen Verwendungszweck für Lehmflechtwerk. Es könnte als Verstärkung von Berme oder Lagergraben gedient haben, was jedoch angesichts des Böschungswinkels nicht nahe liegt und auch nicht durch den Befund bestätigt wird.[177] Theoretisch könnte das Lehmflechtwerk auch von abgerissenen Innenbauten stammen, was jedoch wenig plausibel erscheint. Man muss bedenken, dass in Oberaden an einigen Stellen - z.B. am heutigen Römerberg - das erodierte Profil von Lagergraben und Erdwall noch immer sichtbar ist, was bedeutet, dass das Gelände nach dem Zerfall des Lagers nicht oder nicht gründlich egalisiert wurde. Aus welchem Grund hätte man dann schwere Bruchstücke von Lehmflechtwerk über die Reste des Erdwalls hinweg in den Lagergraben schleppen sollen? Wenn man den Lagergraben hätte verfüllen wollen, hätte man dazu viel besser den zumindest noch teilweise vorhandenen Erdwall verwenden können, was jedoch - wie gesagt - nicht geschehen ist. Man kann also festhalten, dass sich abgesehen von der Brustwehr kein überzeugender Verwendungszweck für das freigelegte Lehmflechtwerk anbietet.

Bei einer Rekonstruktion der Brustwehr mit Brettern gibt es noch eine weitere Schwierigkeit. Auch wenn auf den ersten Blick die Bretterverkleidung des Unterbaus und der Brustwehr völlig vergleichbar erscheinen, ist dies nicht der Fall. In einem für Holz-Erde-Mauern entscheidenden Punkt besteht ein wesentlicher Unterschied: im Brandschutz. Bei der Bretterverkleidung des Unterbaus befand sich auf der einen Seite der Erdwall, während die Verkleidung auf Höhe der Brustwehr rundherum von Luft umgeben war. Die höhere Sauerstoffzufuhr und die Tatsache, dass die Bretterverkleidung der Brustwehr beidseitig Feuer fangen konnte, machten letztere wesentlich anfälliger für Brände als die Holzverkleidung des Unterbaus.[178] Mit einer Salve von Brandpfeilen hätte der Feind die Brustwehr entflammen können, wodurch der Wehrgang augenblicklich so gut wie unbegehbar geworden wäre. Lehm dagegen war nicht brennbar.

Von Interesse ist in diesem Zusammenhang Vegetius' Beschreibung mobiler Türme, die aus Balken und Brettern errichtet und anschließend mit einer Lage roher Häute und Branddecken gegen feindliches Feuer geschützt wurden.[179] Wollte man einen mobilen Turm in Brand setzen, mussten nach Vegetius zuerst die Häute von der Holzkonstruktion entfernt werden, man konnte aber auch mit einer Ballista brennende Pfeile durch die Haut hindurch in das Holz schießen.[180] Dies impliziert, dass eine Konstruktion aus Balken und Brettern, welche nicht durch Häute geschützt wurde, in direkter Konfrontation mit dem Feind als feuergefährlich angesehen wurde. Wenn ein mobiler Turm aus Balken und Brettern geschützt werden musste, traf dies logischerweise auch auf eine Konstruktion aus Balken und Brettern zu, gegen die der mobile Turm zum Einsatz kam, nämlich die Brustwehrzone eines Wehrwalls. Während die relativ kleine Oberfläche eines mobilen Turmes mit Häuten geschützt werden konnte, war diese Maßnahme bei der Hunderte von Quadratmetern großen Oberfläche einer Brustwehrzone keine reelle Option. Deshalb wäre es logisch, wenn die Brustwehr aus einem Material gearbeitet war, welches bereits selbst ausreichend feuerfest war.

Die bisherigen Überlegungen führen dazu, das für die Brustwehr verwendete Material noch einmal zu überdenken. Einziger Einwand gegen eine Brustwehr aus mit Lehm verschmiertem Flechtwerk wäre eine möglicherweise begrenzte Haltbarkeit infolge von Wassererosion. Experimentell wurde jedoch festgestellt, dass das Ausmaß der Wassererosion bei Lehm - einem Gemenge aus Ton, Schluff und Sand - stark abhängig ist von der Körnerverteilung der Schluff- und Sandanteile. Gerade ein Gemenge aus relativ hohen Tonanteilen und relativ wenig feinem Sand und gerade viel grobem Sand erodiert offenbar wenig.[181] Die Römer kannten diesen Einfluss der Körnerverteilung, wie ein Hinweis bei Vitruv über (ungebrannte) Ziegel beweist:

> 'Sie dürfen nämlich nicht aus sandiger, auch nicht aus steinhaltiger Lehmerde, auch nicht aus lockerem, grobkörnigem (lehmhaltigem) Sand hergestellt werden, weil sie, wenn sie aus diesen Arten gestrichen werden, erstens schwer werden und zweitens, wenn sie an den Wänden vom Regen nass werden, sich auflösen und zerfallen und die Spreu in ihnen wegen der Rauheit (dieses Lehms) nicht fest haftet. Man muss sie aus weißer, tonreicher Erde machen oder aus rotem Ton oder auch aus festgelagertem grobem (lehmhaltigem) Sand. Denn diese Arten haben wegen ihrer Glätte auch Festigkeit (...).' (2.3.1)[182]

Außer durch eine günstige Körnerverteilung konnte die Widerstandskraft gegen Wassererosion durch

Abb. 16. Römerlager Oberaden. Mit einer Kalktünche hätten die Erbauer die Dauerhaftigkeit der mit Lehm verschmierten Brustwehr verlängern können (Nederlands Openluchtmuseum Arnhem - Foto Kees Peterse).

das Beimengen von Zuschlagstoffen erhöht werden.[183] Besonders bei schwerem Lehm, wie er in Oberaden ansteht, kann durch das Beimengen von gelöschtem Kalk dem Eindringen von Wasser entgegen gewirkt werden.[184] Schließlich konnte die Haltbarkeit von Lehmflechtwerk durch das Anbringen einer Kalktünche verlängert werden (*Abb. 16*). Weitere Untersuchungen müssen ergeben, ob derartige Maßnahmen in der Tat unternommen wurden.[185]

Die Tatsache, dass die Dauerhaftigkeit einer Brustwehr aus Lehmflechtwerk allein schon durch die Beeinflussung der Körnerverteilung und/oder das Hinzufügen von gelöschtem Kalk wesentlich verbessert werden konnte, bedeutet, dass die Empfindlichkeit für Wassererosion kein Argument sein muss, um den von Kropatscheck und Albrecht angenommenen Verwendungszweck für das Lehmflechtwerk abzulehnen. Unterstützend wirkt die Tatsache, dass sich im *intervallum* von Oberaden ein Becken befand, welches mit einem fast 10 cm starken, lehmverschmierten Flechtdeckel versehen war.[186] Wenn ein derartiger Deckel ausreichend Bestand gegen Wassererosion hatte, muss dies auch für eine in übereinstimmender Weise hergestellten Brustwehr gegolten haben. In Bezug auf den bedeutend höheren Brandschutz war eine Brustwehr aus Lehmflechtwerk einer Bretterverkleidung vorzuziehen, auch wenn mit dieser Wahl regelmäßige Instandsetzungsarbeiten verbunden waren.

Das Lehmflechtwerk wird nicht freistehend auf dem Erdwall errichtet, sondern in ein hölzernes Rahmenwerk eingefügt worden sein, das Festigkeit bot und zugleich das Lehmflechtwerk gegen Nässe von oben schützte (*Abb. 15*). Die Möglichkeit dazu war gegeben, weil die Standpfosten der Außenverschalung, sehr wahrscheinlich, bis zum oberen Rand der Brustwehr und der Zinnenberge durchliefen. Das Lehmflechtwerk wird nicht allein von den Standpfosten, sondern auch von horizontalen Riegeln eingerahmt gewesen sein. Wir vermuten, dass auf diesen Riegeln in zwei Richtungen auskragende hölzerne Deckplatten befestigt wurden, analog zu zeitgenössischen, steinernen Befestigungsanlagen. Die Konstruktion aus Lehmflechtwerk in einem hölzernen Rahmenwerk erinnert an die bei Gechter notierten Beobachtungen hinsichtlich der Holz-Erde-Mauer des tiberischen Auxiliarlagers von Bonn.[187] Dort bestand die Verschalung des Erdwalls nicht aus Standpfosten mit einer Bretter- oder Bohlenverkleidung, sondern aus Standpfosten, welche zusammen mit horizontalen Riegeln ein Fachwerk bildeten. Der Verfasser nimmt an, dass die Füllung dieses Fachwerks aus Lehmflechtwerk bestand.

Es ist evident, dass die Holz-Erde-Mauer an der Feindseite eine Brustwehr hatte; wesentlich weniger deutlich ist, wie die obere Zone der Wehrmauer an der Lagerinnenseite ausgesehen hat. Der Befund bietet keine Hinweise. Die Kernfrage ist, ob die Konstruktion in Höhe des Wehrgangs endete oder es eine Vorrichtung gab, die einen möglichen Sturz der Soldaten verhindern konnte. Es ist sehr wohl denkbar, dass bei einem Angriff einige Soldaten an der Seite der Brustwehr aufgestellt waren, um die heranstürmenden Feinde mit Lanzen und Steinen abzuwehren, während andere sich hinter ihnen auf dem Wehrgang bewegten. Gerade in einer derartigen Situation konnte ein Soldat vom Wehrgang stürzen. Bei einer Rasensodenmauer und einer einseitigen Holz-Erde-Mauer wäre der Soldat dann auf die abgeböschte Seite des Walls gefallen. Bei einer zweiseitigen Holz-Erde-Mauer wäre allerdings von einem freien Fall aus einer Höhe von drei

Metern die Rede gewesen. Es ist vorstellbar, dass eine Vorrichtung angebracht wurde, um gerade dies zu vermeiden. Andererseits sollte man bedenken, dass, wenn es Feinden gelang, auf den Wehrgang zu kommen, die Verteidiger die Möglichkeit haben mussten, sie vom *intervallum* aus mit Speeren und anderweitigen Mitteln anzugreifen. Daraus kann man schlussfolgern, dass, falls es an der Lagerseite eine Absturzsicherung gab, diese auf alle Fälle offen war. Aufgrund dieser Überlegungen erscheint es wahrscheinlich, dass im Falle einer Rasensodenmauer und einer einseitigen Holz-Erde-Mauer an der Lagerseite des Wehrgangs keine Schutzvorrichtung angebracht wurde, aber dass dies bei Holz-Erde-Mauern mit einer Doppel-Holzverschalung durchaus der Fall war. Die Standpfosten konnte man bis etwa Hüfthöhe über dem Niveau des Wehrgangs durchlaufen lassen und an der Stirnseite der Standpfosten einen in der Längsrichtung des Walls durchlaufenden als Geländer fungierenden Riegel befestigen, wie Schönberger für Oberstimm Periode 1 und Künzing Periode 2 bereits vermutete.[188]

Zwischentürme

Bestandteil dieser Rekonstruktionsanalyse sind neben der holzverschalten Wehrmauer auch die Zwischentürme. Von den Türmen fanden sich bei den Ausgrabungen bis jetzt je vier bis zu 1,0 x 1,0 m große Pfostengruben, deren Sohle etwa gleich tief oder bis zu 0,2 m tiefer lag als die der Pfostengräben der Holz-Erde-Mauer.[189] Von den vier Pfostengruben befanden sich zwei direkt an der Innenseite des Pfostengrabens der Außenverschalung, und zwar in einer Weise, dass beide an einer Seite ineinander übergingen. In derselben Weise fügten sich die beiden anderen Pfostengruben in den Pfostengraben der Innenverschalung. Die Zwischentürme hatten also die gleiche Tiefe wie die Umwehrung, standen aber ein wenig nach innen versetzt. Häufig wurden in den Pfostengruben Spuren der Standpfosten vorgefunden, sei es als eine dunkle Verfärbung, sei es als Holzfunde. Für Turm 3 konnte Kühlborn die Abmessungen von drei der vier Standpfosten anhand der sich in sehr gutem Zustand angetroffenen Holzfunde feststellen: 0,2 x 0,2 m, 0,18 x 0,16 m und 0,23 x 0,18 m.[190] Die Breite der Bodenfläche der Türme differierte zwischen 2,8 und 3,2 m (gemessen in Richtung quer zur Wehrmauer), während ihre Länge 3,2 bis zu 3,8 m betrug (gemessen in Richtung parallel zur Wehrmauer). Die Werte wurden an der Außenseite der Standpfosten oder deren Spuren gemessen. Damit weisen die Türme eine Übereinstimmung mit Zwischentürmen des augusteischen Lagers von Nijmegen Hunerberg und Anreppen sowie mit denen von Kastell Valkenburg Periode 2 auf. Alle drei besaßen Türme von 3,0 x 3,6 m, was 10 x 12 römischen Fuß entspricht (theoretisch 2,96 x 3,55 m).[191] Die Zwischentürme waren in regelmäßigem Abstand in der Holz-Erde-Mauer angeordnet. Die lichten Abstände betrugen nach Kühlborn durchschnittlich etwa 23,5 m, mindestens 23,0 m und maximal 24,0 m. Dieser Zwischenabstand wurde bereits von dem Ausgräber als Äquivalent von 80 römischen Fuß (theoretisch 23,68 m) angesehen.[192]

Die dem Befund zugrunde liegenden Informationen rechtfertigen einige erste Schlussfolgerungen zur Form der Zwischentürme. Jeder Turm besaß vier Standpfosten, die zu einem quadratischen oder fast quadratischen Durchschnitt bearbeitet worden waren. Sowohl an der Feind- wie auch an der Lagerseite standen die Turmstandpfosten unmittelbar hinter der Holzverschalung der Wehrmauer. Die beiden äußeren Turmstandpfosten verliefen also durch den Erdwall und erhoben sich kurz hinter der Brustwehr aus dem Wallkörper. In Bezug auf die beiden anderen sich im intervallum befindlichen Turmstandpfosten kann man aus der Tatsache, dass Erdwall und Verschalung der Wehrmauer an der Stelle der Türme ohne Unterbrechung fortliefen, schlussfolgern, dass sie nicht in die Wehrmauer eingebunden waren und daher frei standen.[193] Nichts deutet darauf hin, dass zwischen den oder gegen die Standpfosten im *intervallum* eine Verkleidung angebracht war. Die Konstruktion mit vier Standpfosten impliziert das Vorhandensein einer Plattform. Diese muss sich so hoch über dem Wehrgang befunden haben, dass ein bewaffneter Soldat unter der Turmplattform freien Durchgang hatte. Die Dicke einer Balkenschicht berücksichtigend wird das Bodenniveau der Plattform schätzungsweise 3 m (10 römische Fuß) oder vielleicht mehr über dem Wehrgang gelegen haben. Über die exakte Form der Plattform und deren Brustwehr lassen sich aufgrund des Befunds keine Aussagen machen, über die Art der Holzkonstruktion aber schon. Die Holzfunde besagen, dass die Turmstandpfosten bearbeitet waren und zwar in dem Maße, dass die Form der gefällten Baumstämme nicht mehr zu erkennen war. Außerdem wurde bereits aus den Holzfunden geschlossen, dass die Ankerbalkengebinde - die Haupttragkonstruktion der Wehrmauer - mit handwerklichen Holzverbindungen zusammengesetzt waren. Setzt man eine konsistente Bauweise voraus, dann waren auch die Plattform und deren Brustwehr aus rechtwinklig geschnittenem Holz und handwerklichen

Holzverbindungen gestaltet.

Die Ausführungen bis zu diesem Punkt ermöglichen die Rekonstruktion bis an die Unterseite der Plattform. Ungewiss ist jetzt nur noch der Kopf des Turms, für den andere Quellen zu Rate gezogen werden müssen. Die weitaus ergiebigsten Informationen zum Erscheinungsbild der römischen Holztürme bietet die Trajanssäule. Auf dieser sind verschiedene hölzerne Zwischen- und Tortürme zu sehen, von denen in der Literatur ein Typus allgemein als Quelle für die in Holzbauweise ausgeführte Lager gesehen wird (*Abb. 17*).[194] Diese Türme zeigen vier Standpfosten, von denen die vorderen hinter der Außenverschalung stehen. Die Türme sind ein Niveau höher als die Umwehrung und haben keine Überdachung. Auf dem hohen Niveau, der Plattform, zeigen sie eine offene Brustwehr mit durchgehendem Ober- und Unterriegel sowie einen Zwischenpfosten. Die offenen Flächen zwischen Standpfosten, Riegeln und Zwischenpfosten sind mit einem Stabilitätsverband aus kreuzweise befestigten, untereinander verblatteten Riegeln versehen, der wahrscheinlich gleichzeitig als Absturzsicherung diente. Die Standpfosten laufen durch bis etwas oberhalb des Abschlussriegels der Brustwehr und enden in einer auf allen Seiten überkragenden Abdeckplatte. Diese wird den Kopf des Holzes gegen eindringende Feuchtigkeit geschützt haben, war aber wahrscheinlich gleichzeitig auch als Ornament gedacht.

Außer den bereits von vielen erkannten formalen Merkmalen geben die Abbildungen auf der Trajanssäule auch das Konstruktionsprinzip dieses Turmtypus preis. W. Manning und I. Scott identifizieren in Tafel XIV Szene XVI der Trajanssäule den Hauptpfosten der Zwischentürme und bestätigen, dass die dargestellten Bautrupps an einzelnen Pfosten arbeiten (*Abb. 18*).[195] Damit stützen sie die Auffassung, dass die Pfosten der Türme einer nach dem anderen errichtet wurden.[196] Der Verfasser schließt sich der Meinung an, dass die abgebildeten Pfosten zu den Zwischentürmen gehören, meint aber, dass diese Pfosten Teil von H-förmigen Gerüsten sind, bestehend aus einem Joch mit zwei Standpfosten und einem horizontalen Balken als Verbindung.[197] Die Szene zeigt, dass der horizontale Balken auf einer Höhe zwischen den Standpfosten liegt, die dem Niveau der Plattform der fertiggestellten Türme in anderen Szenen entspricht. Die Beobachtung, dass in Szene XVI, die laufende Arbeiten zeigt, zwei bereits fertige Joche dargestellt sind, während vom Rest der betreffenden Türme noch nichts zu sehen ist, deutet darauf hin, dass die Joche vorgefertigt und im ganzen aufgestellt wurden.

Abb. 17. Trajanssäule Tafel XXXVII, Szene LI zeigt offene Türme (Cichorius 1896-1900).

Abb. 18. Trajanssäule Tafel XIV, Szene XVI zeigt H-förmige Gerüste, bestehend aus einem Joch mit zwei Standpfosten und einem horizontalen Balken als Verbindung (Cichorius 1896-1900).

Es stellt sich also die Frage, ob die Rekonstruktion der Oberadener Zwischentürme vervollständigt werden kann, wenn man damit den Kopf der bewussten, um über hundert Jahre jüngeren Türme auf der Trajanssäule verbindet. Dass ein so spezi-

Abb. 19. Römerlager Oberaden. Endergebnis der Forschung: Lagerinnenseite der rekonstruierten Holz-Erde-Mauer (Rekonstruktion Kees Peterse, Computerstill Gerard Jonker – © PANSA BV).

elles Detail auf der Trajanssäule mehrmals und einheitlich gezeigt wird, erhöht die Wahrscheinlichkeit, dass es auf die Realität zurückgreift, wie bereits auch Manning und Scott schlussfolgerten.[198] Ob es damit auch als für Oberaden gültig gesehen werden darf, wird aufgrund der fehlenden Anhaltspunkte im Befund wahrscheinlich nie völlig deutlich werden. Sich dieser Tatsache bewusst möchte der Verfasser trotzdem diese Kombination verwenden, vorausgesetzt, dass dabei zwei Rahmenbedingungen erfüllt werden. Verlangt werden muss, dass das, was aufgrund des Befunds über die Erscheinungsform der Zwischentürme gesagt wurde, nicht im Widerspruch mit der Darstellung auf der Trajanssäule steht. Außerdem muss gefordert werden, dass die der Rekonstruktion hinzuzufügenden Elemente, nämlich die offene Plattform und die spezielle Brustwehr, an sich glaubwürdig sind.

Wenn man einen Vergleich dessen, was über die Erscheinungsform der Türme in Oberaden festgestellt wurde, mit den Darstellungen auf der Trajanssäule anstellt, ergibt sich eine deutliche Übereinstimmung. In beiden Fällen ist hier schließlich von vier, nicht verkleideten und quadratisch behauenen Standpfosten die Rede, von denen die vorderen nicht in der Außenverschalung integriert sind, sondern dahinter stehen. Ferner wurde darauf hingewiesen, dass die Haupttragkonstruktion der Türme auf der Trajanssäule wahrscheinlich aus H-förmigen Gerüsten besteht, und zwar zwei pro Turm. Wenn dies stimmt, entspricht die Bauweise der von der Holz-Erde-Mauer, deren Haupttragkonstruktion ohne Zweifel aus Gerüsten mit horizontalen Zugbalken - Ankerbalkengebinden - bestand. Schließlich genügen die Abbildungen auf der Trajanssäule den Schlussfolgerungen, die in Bezug auf den Kopf der Zwischentürme gezogen wurden, nämlich, dass dieser aus rechtwinklig geschnittenem Holz und handwerklichen Holzverbindungen hergestellt gewesen sein muss.

Wenn die Zwischentürme von Oberaden nicht nur in der Basis, sondern auch im oberen Bereich den Abbildungen auf der Trajanssäule entsprachen, waren sie, wie bereits erwähnt, nicht überdacht und hatten sie eine offene Brustwehr ohne Zinnen. Den Soldaten auf den Türmen fehlte daher jegliche Art von Schutz.[199] Aus anderen Quellen als der Trajanssäule ist bekannt, dass Türme mit einer offenen Plattform nicht unüblich waren.[200] Dass Soldaten auf einem offenen Turm nicht unbedingt schutzlos gewesen sein müssen, ergibt sich aus einer Passage bei Vegetius, in der er die Errichtung von kleinen Unterkommen, sogenannter *teguriola*, empfiehlt:

> Auf den Mauern und Türmen müssen kleine Unterkommen (*teguriola*) gebaut werden, überdachte Wachtposten. In den Wintermonaten bieten sie Schutz vor Regen und Kälte, in den Sommermonaten vor Sonne.' (4.26)[201]

Die Plausibilität einer offenen Brustwehr und das Fehlen von Zinnen hängt eng mit der Antwort auf

Abb. 20. Römerlager Oberaden. Endergebnis der Forschung: rekonstruierter Wehrgang mit Zwischentürmen (Rekonstruktion Kees Peterse, Computerstill Gerard Jonker – © PANSA BV).

die Frage, wie bedrohlich der Feind für die sich auf den Türmen befindlichen Römern war sowie mit der Funktion der Zwischentürme zusammen. Es gibt Hinweise darauf, dass die Römer, wenn möglich, eine Belagerung nicht abwarteten, sondern ihren Belagerern grundsätzlich außerhalb des Lagers gegenüber traten.[202] Die frühen Militärlager waren nicht geplant, um einer langwierigen Belagerung standzuhalten, sondern um Überraschungsangriffen zu widerstehen.[203] Wenn es dann doch zu einer Belagerung kam, wurde das Lager zuerst einem Stein- und Speerregen ausgesetzt, mit dem die Belagerer versuchten, die Verteidiger vom Wehrwall, aber auch von den Türmen zu vertreiben. Danach erfolgte die Bestürmung des Walls und der Tore.[204] Tacitus zufolge benutzten die Germanen Schwerter und Lanzen, aber den Römern rückten sie überwiegend mit Schild und Frame (Speer mit schmaler und kurzer Eisenspitze) zu Leibe.[205] Sowohl für Verteidiger auf dem Wehrgang wie Soldaten auf den Türmen wird es so gewesen sein, dass sie in der ersten Phase des Angriffs verhältnismäßig wenig ausführen konnten, außer dass die Römer die Möglichkeit hatten ihrerseits den Feind mit Schleuderkugeln und möglich auch andersartigen Geschossen zu bekämpfen.[206] In der zweiten Phase - dem Moment des Sturmangriffes - hatten die Soldaten auf dem Wehrgang den Vorteil einer höher gelegenen Position und den Schutz, der ihnen von einer geschlossenen Brustwehr mit Zinnen geboten wurde. Soldaten, die sich auf den Türmen befanden, hatten zu Beginn der zweiten Angriffsphase möglicherweise weniger zu fürchten, weil sie nicht sofort in Nahkämpfe verwickelt waren.[207] Das hätte die Römer aber nicht daran zu hindern brauchen, die Türme mit einer geschlossenen Brustwehr mit Zinnen zu versehen.

Außer von dem Ausmaß der Bedrohung kann die Erscheinungsform der Brustwehr auch von der Funktion der Zwischentürme beeinflusst gewesen sein. Es steht außer Zweifel, dass die Türme als

Beobachtungsposten dienten und sie bei der Verteidigung eines Militärlagers wichtig waren. Das ergibt sich aus einer Passage bei Caesar, in der er mitteilt, dass direkt vor der Bestürmung der Winterquartiere von Quintus Tullius Cicero in aller Eile aus Holz, das eigentlich für den Bau von Schanzwerken bestimmt war, 120 Türme errichtet wurden.[208] Obwohl Caesar deren spezifische Aufgabe nicht enthüllt, liegt es nahe, dass die Türme nicht nur als Beobachtungsposten, sondern auch als Plattform, von der aus man den herannahenden Feind bedrohte, benutzt wurden.[209] Im Hinblick auf diese Funktionen hätten Zinnenberge sich auf die Zweckmäßigkeit der Zwischentürme nachteilig ausgewirkt. Es ist zu beachten, dass die Holztürme relativ klein waren. Das Gleiche gilt auch für die Türme auf der Trajanssäule, die, gemessen an ihrer hüfthohen Brustwehr, sicher nicht größer waren als die in Oberaden (10 x 12 römischen Fuß). Hätte man auf diesen Türmen auf jeder der vier Seiten zwei Zinnen mit jeweils einer Zinnenöffnung in der Mitte angebracht, wären die diagonalen Blickachsen blockiert und wäre das Schussfeld deutlich beschränkt gewesen. Wenn man berücksichtigt, was zu Waffengebrauch und Bedrohungsgrad dargelegt wurde, kann der Wunsch, eine Einschränkung der Zweckmäßigkeit zu vermeiden, Grund dafür gewesen sein, den oberen Bereich der Zwischentürme so auszuführen, wie dies auf der Trajanssäule gezeigt wird. Unter dieser Betrachtung scheint, nachdem man sich gegen Zinnen entschlossen hatte, die Frage, ob die Brustwehr geschlossen oder offen sein sollte, von nebensächlicher Bedeutung gewesen zu sein.

Aufgrund der bisherigen Ausführungen lässt sich schlussfolgern, dass ein nicht überdachter Turm plausibel ist und eine offene Brustwehr ohne Zinnen, wie sie auf der Trajanssäule dargestellt ist, auch für das augusteische Militärlager in Germanien vorstellbar ist. Da auch deutlich geworden ist, dass, was aufgrund des Befunds über die Erscheinungsform der Basis der Zwischentürme gesagt wurde, nicht im Widerspruch mit den Szenen auf der Trajanssäule steht, ist jetzt der Weg geebnet, um den letzten Aspekt im Erscheinungsbild der Zwischentürme des Römerlagers Oberaden, nämlich dessen oberen Teil, Gestalt zu verleihen (*Abb. 19 und 20*).

Abschließend kann noch Folgendes über die praktische Ausführung der Türme erwähnt werden. Wie bereits ausgeführt bestand die Haupttragkonstruktion der Zwischentürme wahrscheinlich aus zwei H-förmigen Gerüsten. Der Befund ergibt, dass diese stets direkt neben einem Ankerbalkengebinde der Wehrmauer errichtet wurden, sodass die zwei Turmstandpfosten, die durch die Erdfüllung liefen, mit einem Ankerbalkengebinde verbunden werden konnten. In Höhe der Plattform wurden die Gerüste miteinander verbunden. Die Verbindung bestand aus der Balkenschicht der Plattform, die in den horizontalen Balken der Gerüste eingelegt wurde. Der Boden der Plattform wird aus Brettern gewesen sein. Es liegt nahe, dass die Plattform vom Wehrgang aus über eine Leiter zu erreichen war.

Anmerkungen

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1 Kühlborn 1992, 12-16.

2 Kühlborn 1992 und weiter v. a.: Kropatscheck 1907, 133-138; 1909, 1-8; Albrecht 1938.

3 Bechert 1979, 479 für Moers-Asberg; Von Petrikovits 1961, 460 und Gechter 2007, 207-213 für Neuss.

4 Johnson 1987, 73-77 nennt als Vorbilder: Kastell Hesselbach und Künzing Periode I.

5 Für eine Übersicht über die verschiedenen Typen und Varianten: Johnson 1987, 75; siehe auch: Jones 1975, 78-89 und Abb. 16.

6 Van Giffen 1948, Tafel 28 und Glasbergen 1972, 64 für

Valkenburg; Planck 1975, 59 Abb. 12 für Rottweil.

7 Dazu auch: Jones 1975, 82-86; Johnson 1987, 77.

8 Jones 1975, 18 und 82-86. Nach Jones kamen im Rheingebiet Rasensodenmauern (turf revetments) erst von ca. 40 Chr. an vor, wobei er als frühestes Beispiel das 39/40 errichtete Kastell Valkenburg Periode 1 nennt. Jones 1975, 83-86 und Johnson 1987, 77 weisen auf die Möglichkeit hin, dass ein Unterschied in den Grabungstechniken zwischen Deutschland und Großbritannien zu einer Verzerrung des Bildes, das man von der geografischen Verbreitung von Rasensodenmauern und Holz-Erde-Mauern hat, geführt haben kann.

9 Übersetzung Fensterbusch. Eine Analyse der Befunde v. a. in Großbritannien bringt Jones zu der Annahme, dass die Römer in dem Kontext, der hier zur Anwendung kommt, bevorzugt von Rasensoden ausgegangen sind, und dass Holz angewendet wurde, wenn Rasensoden nicht vorhanden waren oder ihre Qualität nicht ausreichend war.

10 Von Schnurbein 1995, 337-367; Becker/Rasbach 1998, 673-692; Von Schnurbein 2002; Becker/Rasbach 2003, 147-198; Rasbach 2007, 253-275.

11 Dazu auch: Jones 1975, 14: 'The ramparts of the Augustan and Tiberian military bases in the Rhineland were of a fairly standardised construction.'

12 Ausnahme: Gechter 2001, 138 gibt an, dass die Verschalung des tiberischen Auxiliarlagers von Bonn in Fachwerk ausgeführt war.

13 Junkelmann 1986, 219 erläutert, dass frühkaiserzeitliche Lager nicht dazu bestimmt waren, einer andauernden Belagerung standzuhalten, sondern Überraschungsangriffen Widerstand zu leisten. Ähnlich äußern sich Bidwell/Miket/Ford 1988, 180-182 mit Hinweis auf Tac. *Hist*. 4, 15.

14 Caes. *Gal*. 5.40.6 und 7.72.4, sowie Vegetius 3.8, wo von einer Brustwehr mit Zinnen die Rede ist.

15 Vitr. 1.5.5: 'Gleichermaßen sind mit Erdwällen verbundene Mauer- und Turmbefestigungen ganz besonders sicher, weil weder Sturmböcke noch Minierungen noch die übrigen Kriegsmaschinen ihnen schaden können' (Übersetzung Fensterbusch). Dazu auch Vegetius 4.3.

16 Vegetius 1.24; 3.8 und 4.3.

17 Vitr. 1.5.6; Vegetius 4.5; Caes. *Gal*. 5.42.5 und 5.43.1-7 berichtet von Türmen, die von den Nerviern in Richtung der belagerten Winterquartiere von Quintus Tullius Cicero gerollt wurden.

18 Vegetius 4.5; Caes. *Gal*. 5.4.40 erwähnt, dass die Belagerer der Winterquartiere von Quintus Tullius Cicero die Lagergräben zugeschüttet haben.

19 Dazu auch Johnson 1987, 77.

20 Lehner 1930, 13; Jones 1975, 18: 'Almost all those ramparts tested by excavation proved to be about 10 feet (3 m) in width.' Auch: Jones 1975, 69; Jones 1980, 48.
Breite der Holz-Erde-Mauer: Kühlborn 1992, 20-21 für Oberaden: 2,95–3,2 m; Polak/Kloosterman/Niemeijer 2004, 54 für Alphen aan den Rijn: 3 m; Lehner 1930, 15 für Vetera Befestigungsreste C-C': 3 m; Schönberger 1976, 12 für Rödgen: etwa 3 m; Bechert 1979, 479 für Moers-Asberg Kastell II Periode 2: 3 m; Wamser 1991, 116 für Marktbreit: 3 m; Kühlborn 1995, 130 für Anreppen: etwa 3 m; Von Schnurbein 1974, 47 für Haltern: 3 m; Baatz 1962, 18 für Mainz: 3,0 m; Von Petrikovits 1961, 462 für Neuss Lager E (= Neuss 8): 2,5–3 m; Gechter 2001, 138 für das Auxiliarlager von Bonn: 3 m; Van Giffen 1948, 101 für Valkenburg Periode 2: (2,3 + 2 x 0,15 =) 2,6 m; Haalebos 1977, 23 für Zwammerdam Periode 2: 3,0–3,5 m; Jones 1980, 48 für Lincoln: ca. 3 m.

21 Kühlborn 1992, 20-21.

22 Biermann 1909, 96-97; Lehner 1930, 13; Kühlborn 1992, 21.

23 Caes. *Civ*. 3.63.

24 Vitr. 1.5.3.

25 Übersetzung Fensterbusch.

26 Van Giffen 1948, 124 für Valkenburg Periode 6: 'weerwal boven 1,4 m'; Jacobi 1897, 71: Mindestmaß 1,5 m; Hobley 1971, 22 und 1988, 27: Mindestmaß 2,0 m; Johnson 1987, 73: etwa 2 m; Brunsting/Woudstra 1964, unpublizierte Zeichnung 40C 42Z 806, Put XI für das spätflavische steinerne Legionslager von Nijmegen: 2,0 m (Rekonstruktion).

27 Hobley 1971, 22; 1988, 27.

28 Mason 2001, 130.

29 Pseudo-Hygin *De mun. castr*. 50; dazu auch: Jacobi 1897, 71 und Van Giffen 1948, 101 Anm. 2.

30 Kühlborn 1992, 20 vermutet, dass der Schiefstand während des Zerfalls im Jahre 8/7 v.Chr. zustande kam. Haalebos 1977, 23 berichtet, dass einer der Standpfosten vom flavischen Auxiliarkastell Zwammerdam Periode 2 durch den Druck des Wallkörpers schräg nach außen zu stehen kam.

31 Lehner 1930, 13.

32 Lehner 1930, 13.

33 Kühlborn 1992, 18 Abb. 8 für Oberaden; Becker/Rasbach 2003, 151 Abb. 2 für Lahnau-Waldgirmes.

34 Albrecht 1938, 21-24 besonders Querschnitt c-d auf Plan 3.

35 Fingerling 1971, 206.

36 Schönberger 1978, 17.

37 Schönberger 1978, 16.

38 Schönberger 1975, 11.

39 Vorbilder: Kühlborn 1992, Abb. 14 für Oberaden; Van Giffen 1948 Pl. 16 und Pl. 22 für Valkenburg Periode 2; Schönberger 1975, 15 für Künzing Periode 2.

40 Auch Vitruv (1.5.3; 1.5.6) erkennt die Auswirkungen eines Erdwalls auf die in diesem Fall von ihm beschriebene steinerne Verschalung und schreibt vor, dass die Außen- und Innenverschalung untereinander mit als Anker wirkenden Holzbalken verbunden werden sollen, um eine dauerhafte Stärke zu erreichen.

41 Bechert 1989, 60 und 70 für Moers-Asberg; Van Giffen 1948, 101 für Valkenburg.

42 Kühlborn 1992, 22 für Oberaden; Doms 1971, 215 für Anreppen; Von Schnurbein 1974, 48 für Haltern; Jones 1980, 48-49 für das neronische Lager Lincoln; Gechter 2001, 138 für das tiberische Auxiliarlager von Bonn.

43 Von Schnurbein 1974, 47, wie früher Biermann 1909, 92.

44 Von Petrikovits 1961, 462.

45 Gleichartige Varianten finden sich bei Umwehrungen in Großbritannien: Jones 1975, 83.

46 Schönberger 1976, 14 für Rödgen: um 3,0 m; Warmser 1991, 116 für Marktbreit: 3 m; Von Schnurbein 1974, 47 für Haltern: um 3,0 m.

47 Schönberger 1975, 11 für Künzing Periode 2: 1,3/1,6-1,8 m; Jones 1980, 48 für Lincoln: 1,5 m; Von Petrikovits 1961, 462 für Neuss 8 (= Neuss E): 1,8 m.

48 Van Giffen 1948, 101, für Valkenburg Periode 2: 1,2 m; Baatz 1962, 18 für Mainz (Mogontiacum): 1,2 m; Filtzinger 1962/63, 24-25 für Köln: ca. 1,0 m; Doms 1971, 215 für Anreppen: 1,2 m; Haalebos 1977, 23 für Zwammerdam: etwa 1,0 m; Schönberger 1978, 17 für Oberstimm: 1,0-1,1 m; Bechert 1979, 479 für Moers-Asberg Kastell II Periode 2: 1,2 m; Becker/Rasbach 1998, 674 für Lahnau-Waldgirmes: 0,8-1,2 m; Polak/Kloosterman/Niemeijer 2004, 54 für Alphen aan den Rijn: um 1,0 m.

49 Kühlborn 1992, 18 für Oberaden: 0,5-0,7 m und weiter Lehner 1930, 13 für Vetera Befestigungslinie A-A' (3,50-

1,50) : 2; Albrecht 1938, 21-24 für Beckinghausen: 0,5 m; Baatz 1962, 17 für Mainz: 0,4-0,5 m; Schönberger 1978, 17 für Oberstimm: durchschnittlich 0,5 m.

50 Siehe auch: Schönberger 1976, 14 gibt für Rödgen an, dass die Abmessungen der Pfostengruben, die im gewachsenen Boden eine Tiefe von höchstens 0,6 m hatten, 0,8 x 0,6 m betrugen.

51 Voraussetzungen: Abmessungen Pfostengräben pro laufenden Meter: 0,5 (Breite) x 1,3 (Tiefe); Abmessungen Pfostengruben: 1,0 x 1,0 x 1,3 (Tiefe); Reduktion Volumen Pfostengräben durch schräge Grabenkanten: 10 % (zweiseitige Reduktion); Reduktion Volumen Pfostengruben durch schräge Grubenkanten: 19 % (vierseitige Reduktion). Berechnet wurde die Länge L zwischen den Achsen zweier Standpfosten, wobei die Fundamentierung mit Pfostengräben und die mit Pfostengruben dieselbe Bodenbewegung erfordert. L = (1x 1 x 1,3 x 0,81) : (0,5 x 1,3 x 0,9) = 1,8 m.

52 Bechert 1979, 478-479; 1989, 74-75.

53 Van Giffen 1948, 101; Jones 1980, 48-49 nimmt an, dass beim neronischen Lager von Lincoln Zugbalken vorkamen wie diejenigen von Valkenburg Periode 2.

54 Bechert 1989, 479 berichtet, dass die Breite der Pfostengräben 0,4-0,5 m betrug, und dass ihre Länge annähernd 3 m betrug. Der Mitte-zu-Mitte Abstand der Standpfosten, gemessen in Richtung der Umwehrung, betrug 1,2 m. Diese Maße sind in die folgenden Berechungen eingeflossen: Berechnet wurde die Oberfläche der Pfostengräben, die für die Errichtung einer Holz-Erde-Mauer ausgehoben werden mussten, wobei die Standpfosten 1,2 m auseinander standen. In Situation 1 wurden die Pfostengräben wie in Moers-Asberg Kastell II Periode 2 quer zur Umwehrung angelegt, in Situation 2 verlaufen die Pfostengräben parallel zur Umwehrung.
Situation 1: Oberfläche Pfostengräben pro Intervall von 1,2 m = 0,45 x 3 = 1,35 m².
Situation 2: Oberfläche Pfostengräben pro Intervall von 1,2 m = 0,45 x 1,2 x 2 = 1,08 m².

55 Dazu auch: Jones 1975, 29-30.

56 Am besten zugänglich: http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Reibungswinkel.

57 Vegetius 4.3; Johnson 1987,70. Es muss bedacht werden, dass sich nicht jede Bodenart gleichgut verdichten lässt.

58 Eine Ausnahme ist Moers-Asberg Kastell II Periode 2, wo die Pfosten bereits im Fundament mittels eines Zugbalkens untereinander verbunden wurden.

59 Johnson 1987, 72 nennt eine Lehmfüllung stabiler als eine Sandfüllung.

60 Van Giffen 1948, 101 für Valkenburg Periode 2: 'Het geheel vormt zodoende de bekisting van de wal (...), waarvan de kern uit structuurloze zavel bestaat.' Kropatscheck 1907, 133-138 und 1909, 5 für Oberaden.

61 Kropatscheck 1907, 137. Von Schnurbein 1974, 47 schreibt über den Lagergraben von Haltern: 'Die "Halterner Sande" sind bei solchen Böschungswinkeln nicht standfest.'

62 Berechnet wurde die Menge Erde, die bewegt werden musste, um eine Holz-Erde-Mauer zum einen mit dicht nebeneinander gesetzten Standpfosten und zum anderen mit relativ weit auseinander stehenden Standpfosten zu bauen. Wie die Praxis gezeigt hat, wird bei der ersten Konstruktion von Pfostengräben ausgegangen, während bei der zweiten Konstruktionsweise davon ausgegangen wird, dass die Standpfosten in einzelnen Pfostengruben standen. Um die Ergebnissen untereinander vergleichen zu können, ist für beide die erforderliche Bodenbewegung pro laufenden Meter Umwehrung berechnet. Voraussetzungen: Abmessungen Pfostengraben pro laufenden Meter: 0,5 (Breite) x 1,3 (Tiefe); Abmessungen Pfostengruben: 1,0 x 1,0 x 1,3 (Tiefe); Reduktion Volumen Pfostengraben aufgrund von schrägen Grabenkanten: 10 % (zweiseitige Reduktion); Reduktion Volumen Pfostengruben durch schräge Grubenkanten: 19 % (vierseitige Reduktion).
Situation I: Mitte-zu-Mitte-Abstand 1,2 m mit Pfostengraben
Erforderliche Bodenbewegung (= Inhalt Pfostengraben): 2 x (0,5 x 1,3 x 1,2 x 0,9) : 1,2 = 1,17 m³/m.
Situation II: Mitte-zu-Mitte-Abstand 3,0 m mit Pfostengruben
Erforderliche Bodenbewegung (= Inhalt Pfostengruben): 2 x (1 x 1 x 1,3 x 0,81) : 3 = 0,70 m³/m.

63 Biegemoment bei gleichmäßiger Belastung = 1/8 ql², wobei 'q' die Belastung pro laufenden Meter ist, und 'l' der Mitte-zu-Mitte-Abstand von zwei Standpfosten.

64 Jones 1980, 48 gibt als Abstand der Standpfosten untereinander in Lincoln 1,5 m an.

65 Berechnet wurde die benötigte Menge Holz bis zum Wehrgang für eine Seite der Holzverschalung, angegeben in Kubikmeter Holz pro laufenden Meter Umwehrung. Voraussetzungen: Stärke Standpfosten: 0,20 x 0,18 m; Stärke Bretter: 0,03 x 0,20 m; Stärke Bohlen: 0,08 x 0,20 m; Höhe Holzverkleidung: 2,5 m.
Situation I: Mitte-zu-Mitte Abstand 1,2 m mit Bretterverkleidung
Holzverbrauch: (0,20 x 0,18 x 2,5 + 0,03 x 1,2 x 2,5) : 1,2 = 0,15 m³/m.
Situation II: Mitte-zu-Mitte Abstand 3,0 m mit Bohlenverkleidung
Holzverbrauch: (0,20 x 0,18 x 2,5 + 0,08 x 3 x 2,5) : 3 = 0,23 m³/m.

66 Gechter 2001, 138.

67 Bei wenig tragfähigem (sumpfigem) Boden konnten die Standpfosten auf einer oder beiden Seiten der Holz-Erde-Mauer in einen Schwellbalken eingezapft werden. Weitere Beispiele: Van Giffen 1948, 101 für Valkenburg Periode 2; Van Giffen 1948, 100 für Valkenburg Periode 3; Planck 1975, 52 für Rottweil Kastell 3.

68 Kühlborn 1992, 20.

69 Van Giffen 1948, 101.

70 Kropatscheck 1907, 134; Albrecht 1938, 15.

71 Von Petrikovits 1961, 461-464 für Neuss Lager 8 und 9 (= E und F); Baatz 1962, 18 für Mainz; Doms 1971, 215 für Anreppen; Schönberger 1978, 17 für Oberstimm; Van Schnurbein 1995, 344 für Lahnau-Waldgirmes.

72 Bechert 1979, 479.

73 So bereits früher: Filtzinger 1963, 25-26 für Köln, Neuss, Oberaden, Haltern und Mainz.

74 Heimberg/Rieche 1998, 63, Abb. 95 (Photo der Grabung von 1934).

75 Van Giffen 1948, 101; 1955, Abb. 42 mit Standpfosten und den untersten Lagen der Bretterverkleidung *in situ*.

76 Bechert 1979, Abb. 3; 1989, 74-76 Abb. 60-63.

77 Jones 1975, 70 (ungefähr 12 Fuß); 1980, 49 (3 bis 4 m); Johnson 1987, 71 (3 bis 4 m); Hobley 1988, 41 (3 bis 3,6 m).

78 Caes. *Gal*. 7.72.4.

79 Caes. *Gal*. 2.5.6 und 2.30.2.

80 Caes. *Gal*. 5.42.1.

81 Caes. *Gal*. 5.42.2-3.

82 Caes. *Civ*.1.61 (12 Fuß), 3.63 (10 Fuß) und 3.69 (10 Fuß). Siehe auch: Hobley 1988, 27.

83 Pseudo-Hygin *De mun. castr*. 50.

84 Vegetius 1.24.

85 Birley 1994, 36.

86 Jones 1980, 49; Bidwell/Miket/Ford 1988, 184.

[87] Mason 2001, 56; siehe auch: Wilson 1980, 32.
[88] Van Giffen 1948, 121; Van Giffen 1955, Abb. 38.
[89] Eidam 1929, 1-60.
[90] Eidam 1929, 3-4.
[91] Conrady 1900, 4-7 und Abb. 1-2; Johnson 1987, 85-86.
[92] Conrady 1900, 7; Johnson 1987, 86 gibt an, dass die Mauer durch den Sturz vielleicht etwas aus dem Gefüge geraten und deshalb möglicherweise etwas weniger hoch gewesen ist.
[93] Jacobi 1897, 69.
[94] Richmond 1927, 14.
[95] Jacobi 1897, 69. Das Maß, welches Jacobi angibt, deckt sich mit Richmond 1927, Plate VI, wo einen Maßstab und keine Bemassung angegeben wird. Bidwell/Miket/Ford 1988, 182 geben circa 3,5 m an.
[96] Birley 1977, 115 und Abb. 56-57; Hobley 1988, 36-37; Siehe auch: Bidwell/Miket/Ford 1988, 213-214.
[97] Hobley 1988, 36-37.
[98] Siehe auch: Hobley 1988, 36. Es ist im übrigen nicht sicher, dass das Niveau des Wehrganges im Tor eingehalten wurde; Bidwell/Miket/Ford 1988, 184: 'it does not necessarily follow that the height of the gate will be at the same level as the rampart walk.' Siehe auch: Hobley 1988, 41.
[99] Vegetius 1.24; 3.8 und 4.3.
[100] Ursprünglich niederländische Übersetzung von Meijer.
[101] 12 Fuß = 3,55 m; 9 Fuß = 2,66 m; Volumen Graben = 3,55 x 2,66 : 2 = 4,72 m³/m.
[102] 12 Fuß = 3,55 m; 4 Fuß = 1,18 m; Volumen Wall = 3,55 x 1,18 : 2 = 4,19 m³/m.
[103] 2⅔ Fuß = 0,79 m; 4 Fuß = 1,18 m; Volumen Abböschung = 0,79 x 1,18 : 2 = 0,47 m³/m.
[104] Die Breite, in der die Böschung angelegt wurde, nämlich 2⅔ Fuß, berechnet sich aus Böschungswinkel des Lagergrabens und Höhe des Erdwalls. Vegetius gibt ganze Zahlen an, wobei die Breite des Grabens und des Walls sowie die Tiefe des Grabens ein Vielfaches von 3 Fuß beträgt. Wenn man für die Breite der Abböschung nicht 2⅔ sondern 3 Fuß annimmt, betrug das Volumen der Abböschung 6 Kubikfuß pro laufenden Fuß, womit die Volumina von Graben und Erdwall identisch gewesen wären: 54 Kubikfuß pro laufenden Fuß.
[105] Siehe auch: Hobley 1988, 27.
[106] Van Giffen 1948, 124 äußert die Möglichkeit, dass Rasensoden auch auf der Lagerseite der Umwehrung abgestochen wurden; Hobley 1971, 23.
[107] Hobley 1971, 23. Mit Verweis auf das Experiment von The Lunt äußert Jones 1975, 32 Zweifel an einer direkten Beziehung zwischen den Volumina von Lagergraben und Erdwall; Johnson 1987, 73 und Anm. 28.
[108] Das Kastell Valkenburg Periode 3 repräsentiert eine Hybridform, bei der gegen die Innenseite von beiden Holzverschalungen eine doppelte Reihe Rasensoden aufgeschichtet wurde.
[109] Ausgehend von Van Giffen 1948, 119 beträgt der Inhalt pro laufenden Meter für alle drei Gräben zusammen: (3,8 x 1,3 + 2,5 x 1,3 + 2,6 x 1,8) : 2 = 6,4 m³.
[110] Van Giffen 1948, 101.
[111] 3,0 – 2 x 0,1 (für die halbe Stärke der Standpfosten) – 2 x 0,1 (für die geschätzte Stärke der Bohlen) = 2,6 m. Gemessen von Mitte zu Mitte standen die Standpfosten ca. 3,0 m auseinander (Biermann 1909, 93; Von Schnurbein 1974, 47). Für den Durchmesser der Standpfosten werden 0,2 m angenommen (Von Schnurbein 1974, 48). Für die Holzverkleidung wird von schätzungsweise 0,1 m starken Bohlen ausgegangen.
[112] Ausgehend von Von Schnurbein 1974, 47 ergibt sich folgende Berechnung: (5,5 x 2,5 + 6,0 x 2,5) : 2 = 14,4 m³.
[113] 14,4 : 2,6 = 5,5 m.
[114] Kühlborn 1992, 14-15.
[115] 2,96 – 2 x 0,15 (für die Breite der Standpfosten) – 2 x 0,03 (für die Stärke der Bretter) = 2,6 m. Siehe auch: Albrecht 1938, 17.
[116] 6,8 : 2,6 = 2,6 m.
[117] Biermann 1909, 95; Von Schnurbein 1974, 48.
[118] Biermann 1909, 95; Von Schnurbein 1974, 48.
[119] Von Schnurbein 1974, 47 gibt für die Breite und Tiefe des Innengrabens rund 5,5 bzw. 2,5 m an. Der Inhalt pro laufenden Meter Graben beträgt dann: (5,5 x 2,5) : 2 = 6,9 m³.
[120] Man könnte als Argument anführen, dass das Volumen des aufgeschütteten Erdwalls umfangreicher gewesen sein muss als die Berechnungen ergeben, weil die Erde im Wall von geringerer Dichtheit war als der ungestörte Boden am Lagergraben. Der Effekt dieses Dichtheitsunterschiedes wurde allerdings wesentlich verringert, da nach Vegetius 4.3 beim Aufschütten des Walls die Erde schichtweise verdichtet wurde.
[121] Becker/Rasbach 2003, 150.
[122] Kühlborn 1992, 13-14 und Abb. 5-6.
[123] Jones 1980, 17, 49 und Abb. 21 für Lincoln; Becker/Rasbach 2003, 149 für Lahnau-Waldgirmes; Van Giffen 1948, 101 und 120, sowie Van Giffen 1955, 86 für Valkenburg.
[124] Van Giffen 1955, Abb. 42 (Vordergrund).
[125] Van Giffen 1948, 101. Da in Oberaden mehr gutes Bauholz vorhanden gewesen sein muss als in Valkenburg, erscheint es nicht unwahrscheinlich, dass auch breitere Bretter (0,3 bis 0,4 m) verwendet wurden. Becker/Rasbach 2003, 149 für die Verwendung eines maximal 0,4 m breiten Schalbretts bei der Holz-Erde-Mauer von Lahnau-Waldgirmes.
[126] Van Giffen 1948, 101, nennt circa 3,60 m für die Länge der Bretter, gibt aber gleichzeitig an, dass die meisten Bretter an insgesamt drei Standpfosten befestigt waren, was eine Länge von zwei Abschnitten oder circa 2,4 m impliziert. Derartige kurze Bretter sind zu sehen bei Van Giffen 1955, Abb. 42 (Vordergrund) und auf Foto 1942/112, Put IIA, Wall Periode 2 (Archief Valkenburg im Provinciaal Bodemdepot Zuid-Holland).
[127] Van Giffen 1955, Abb. 42 (Vordergrund) zeigt durchlaufende Stoßfugen; ebenso: Foto 1942/105, Put IIA, Wall Periode 2, Blick von Westen (Archief Valkenburg im Provinciaal Bodemdepot Zuid-Holland).
[128] Van Giffen 1948, 101.
[129] Der Verfasser dankt den beiden Ausgräbern für die mündlichen Hinweise.
[130] Van Giffen 1948, 101; Becker/Rasbach 2003, 149; Foto 1942/107, Put IIA, Wall Periode 2 (Archief Valkenburg im Provinciaal Bodemdepot Zuid-Holland).
[131] Kropatscheck 1908, 135-136; dazu auch Kühlborn 1992, 21-22.
[132] Kühlborn 1992, 21 Abb. 11.
[133] Albrecht 1938, 15.
[134] Kropatscheck 1908, 135-136; dazu auch Kühlborn 1992, 21-22.
[135] Kropatscheck 1908, 135-136.
[136] Zur betreffenden Terminologie: Berends 1996, 55.
[137] Albrecht 1938, 16.
[138] Van Giffen 1948, 101.
[139] Der Schüttwinkel von nassem Lehm und Ton beträgt 20°-25°, der von trockenem Lehm und Ton 40°-50°. Dazu am besten zugänglich: http://www.ipl.citg.tudelft.nl/lexicon/Definities_H/basis/basis_hoek_van_inwendige_wrijving.htm.

[140] Heimberg/Rieche 1998, 61 Abb. 91.
[141] Hobley 1988, 31 gibt an, dass beim rekonstruierten Erdwall von Kastell The Lunt die Setzung 1 bis 1,5 römische Fuß betrug.
[142] Römische Balkenlagen wurden durchgehend angelegt mit nach heutigen Maßstäben breiten Balken, die darüber hinaus dicht nebeneinander lagen. So berichtet Tichelman 2005, 65, dass der Fußboden eines Raumes oberhalb des Kellers in der Villa Holzkuil in Kerkrade auf 11 x17 cm starken Holzbalken mit einem Mitte-zu-Mitte Abstand von (11 + 33 =) 44 cm. Die überspannte Strecke bei diesem Fußboden betrug netto 3,1 m (Tichelman 2005, 62).
[143] Tichelman 2005, 65.
[144] Cichorius 1896-1900, Textband 2, 60-62 und Anm. 2, sowie Tafel XII, Szene XII; Weber 2002, 34 für Osterburken. Birley 2002, 67 Abb. 44 für einen Bretterfußboden im nördlichen Teil des Praetoriums von Vindolanda Periode III.
[145] Van Giffen 1948, 101 für Valkenburg Periode 2; Becker/Rasbach 2003, 150 für Lahnau-Waldgirmes; Jones 1980, 48 für Lincoln.
[146] Zum Beispiel Cichorius 1896-1900, Tafel XII, Szene XII.
[147] Zum Beispiel Cichorius 1896-1900, Tafel XI, Szene XI; Tafel XII, Szene XII; Tafel XV, Szene XX; Tafel XXXIII, Szene XLIII; Tafel LI, Szene LXXI; Tafel LXXIX, Szene CIV; Tafel LXXXI, Szene CIX; Tafel CVIII, Szene CXLVII.
[148] Cichorius 1896, Textband 2, 60-62 und Anm. 2, sowie Tafel LI, Szene LXXI; Tafel LXXIX, Szene CIV; Tafel LXXXI, Szene CIX; Tafel CVIII, Szene CXLVII.
[149] Dies ist im Prinzip die Standardkonstruktion von Knüppelwegen.
[150] Planck 1975, 59 Abb. 12 für Rottweil; Johnson 1987, 103 Abb. 59 für Baginton.
[151] Albrecht 1938, 16; Johnson 1987, 78.
[152] Zum Beispiel Cichorius 1896-1900, Tafel LXXIX, Szene CIV; Tafel LXXXI, Szene CIX; Tafel CVIII, Szene CXLVII. Auch: Johnson 1987, 89 Abb. 45.
[153] Caes. *Gal*. 7.72.4, auch Caes. *Gal*. 5.40.6.
[154] Ursprünglich niederländische Übersetzung von Meijer.
[155] Jones 1975, 33; Johnson 1987, 78.
[156] Eine Ausnahme ist die Rasensodenmauer von Kastell III von Rottweil. Dazu Planck 1975, 59 Abb. 12.
[157] Vorbilder: Hobley 1971, 21-33 für Kastell The Lunt in Baginton; Webster 2002, 67-73 für das Lager von Wroxeter; Johnson 1987, 78.
[158] Bidwell/Miket/Ford 1988, 200-207; Johnson 1987, 86.
[159] Baatz 1963/1964, 57; Johnson 1987, 86; Bidwell/Miket/Ford 1988, 201 Table 7.2. Die Zinnenbreite von 0,6 m für das Praetorianerlager ergibt sich aus Richmond 1927, Plate VI, wo übrigens keine Maße angegeben sind. Baatz' Angabe von 1,3 m für die Zinnenbreite der Stadtmauer von Pompeji wird bei Bidwell/Miket/Ford 1988, 201 Table 7.2 nicht aufgeführt.
[160] Baatz 1963/64, 57; Johnson 1987, 86; Bidwell/Miket/Ford 1988, 200-207 und Plate 7.2. Siehe auch Jacobi 1897, 71, der, mit Verweis auf eine Studie von Von Cohausen aus dem Jahre 1857, für die Weite der Zinnenöffnungen des Praetorianerlagers anstatt 2,9 m einen Bereich von 2,82 bis 3,44 m angibt; Baatz 2006, 83.
[161] Baatz 1994, 86-87; Hobley 1988, 39; Bidwell/Miket/Ford 1988, 22.
[162] Bosman 1995, 99-103.
[163] Baatz 1994, 87.
[164] Richmond 1927, 14 für das Praetorianerlager: 'Then came a low breastwork, provided with a coping and small battlements at every twelve feet, slightly set back on the coping and capped with big tiles.' Baatz 1963/64, 57 für Fondi; Bidwell/Miket/Ford 1988, 201 Table 7.2.
[165] Baatz 1963/64, 57; Bidwell/Miket/Ford 1988, 201 Table 7.2.
[166] Jacobi 1897, 69-70.
[167] Pseudo-Hygin *De mun. castr.* 50. Lenoir 2002 übersetzt 'petit parapet'.
[168] Siehe auch Jones 1980, 49, der sich für 5 römischen Fuß entscheidet. Jacobi 1897, 69 berichtet in Bezug auf das Praetorianerlager in Rom über ein Aufmaß von Von Cohausen aus dem Jahre 1857, der feststellte, dass der über die ganze Linie geschlossene, unterste Teil der Brustwehr eine Höhe von 0,83 m hatte, während die Zinnen 0,78 m hoch waren. Diese Maße stimmen nicht mit Richmond 1927, Plate VI überein und bleiben hier vorsichtshalber unberücksichtigt.
[169] Kropatscheck 1907, 135-136: ''Dazu kam noch zahlreiches Flechtwerk mit Lehm, der sich auch im Moorboden gehalten hatte, verschmiert. Dies Flechtwerk konnte bei dem vorläufigen Rekonstruktionsversuch in der Schlangenhecke als Brustwehr geeignete Verwendung finden.' Albrecht 1938, 17: 'Das zahlreich in dem Wallgraben gefundene Flechtwerk mit Lehm lässt darauf schließen, dass an der Stirnseite eine aus lehmverschmiertem Flechtwerk gebildete Brustwehr den oberen Abschluß dieser Holzerdemauer gebildet hat.'
[170] Caes. *Gal*. 5.40.6.
[171] Minke 2006, 40 und 98.
[172] Kühlborn 1992, 13 und Abb. 5 und 6.
[173] Schönberger 1978, 26.
[174] Vorbilder: Schönberger 1975, 13-15 Abb. 5 und 6 für Künzing Periode 1 und 2; Schönberger 1978, 27 Abb. 10 für Oberstimm.
[175] Richmond 1927, 14.
[176] In der Rekonstruktion von Markbreit, wie sie Warmser 1991, 117 Abb. 4 vorlegt, wird eine Unterscheidung zwischen der Holzverkleidung des Erdwalls und der Verkleidung der Brustwehr dadurch erreicht, dass die Bretter in der Brustwehrzone vertikal platziert werden. Die Bretterverkleidung wurde in der Rekonstruktion nicht gegen Standpfosten geschlagen, sondern dazwischen angebracht.
[177] Kühlborn 1992, 12-18.
[178] Empfindlichkeit für Brand durch ein allseits der Luft ausgesetzt sein, betraf auch die Torflügel. Es gibt Hinweise darauf, dass sie zur Erhöhung des Brandschutzes mit Eisenblech verkleidet wurden (Vegetius 4.4; Johnson 1987, 94), was beinhaltet, dass die Römer die hier gemeinte Empfindlichkeit erkannten.
[179] Vegetius 4.17; Vitr. 10.13.3-5.
[180] Vegetius 4.18.
[181] Minke 2006, 40.
[182] Übersetzung Fensterbusch.
[183] Minke 2006, 40.
[184] Minke 2006, 41; Kropatscheck 1909, 2 spricht von 'schwerem Lehm und Mergel'.
[185] Joosten 1999, 77-106 berichtet über die Mörtelanalyse bei in Steinfachwerk errichteten Wänden in Pompeji. Joosten hat durch Laboruntersuchungen festgestellt, dass dem verwendeten Lehmmörtel Kalk beigemengt wurde.
[186] Kropatscheck 1909, 2.
[187] Gechter 2001, 138.
[188] Schönberger 1975, 13; 1978, 27; eine ähnliche Lösung zeigt Bechert 1989, 77 für Moers-Asberg Kastell II Periode 2.
[189] Kühlborn 1992, 23-25.
[190] Kühlborn 1992, 24. An anderen Orten variierte die Stärke

der Turmstandpfosten in der Regel von 0,2 bis 0,3 m. Dazu auch Jones 1975, 92; Van Giffen 1948, 120 für Valkenburg Periode 2; Doms 1971, 215 für Anreppen.

[191] Haalebos 1995, 34 für Nijmegen Hunerberg; Doms 1971, 215 für Anreppen; Van Giffen 1948, 120 für Valkenburg Periode 2. Pfostenkerne und Holzfunde weisen darauf hin, dass die Bodenfläche einiger Türme ein unregelmäßiges Viereck war. Diese Form kann durchaus erst während des Zerfalls des Lagers entstanden sein, als sich die Standpfosten aus ihrem ursprünglichen Verband lösten und als Folge davon manchmal in Schieflagen gerieten. Hierzu äußert sich Kühlborn 1992, 24 Anm. 100; eine ähnliche Beobachtung macht Haalebos 1977, 23 für das Auxiliarkastell Zwammerdam Periode 2 (ca. 70 bis 175 n.Chr.): 'In Grube I wurde festgestellt, dass einer der äußeren Pfähle durch den Druck des Wallkörpers nach außen gedrückt worden war.'

[192] Kühlborn 1992, 23. Haalebos 1995, 34 gibt an, dass im augusteischen Lager Nijmegen Hunerberg die Zwischentürme knapp 24 m auseinander lagen, ein Wert, den er als äquivalent zu 80 römischen Fuß betrachtet.

[193] Kühlborn 1992, 24.

[194] Cichorius 1896-1900, Tafel XV, Szene XVIII; Tafel XVI, Szene XXII; Tafel XXXVI, Szene L; Tafel XXXVII, Szene LI; Tafel LXXXII, Szene CXI; Tafel LXVII, Szene XCII; Jones 1975, 92; Johnson 1987, 88-93 und Abb. 45; Hobley 1988, 27 und Abb. 2.2, 2.3 und 2.4; Manning/Scott 1988, 11.

[195] Manning/Scott 1988, 13 und Abb. 15.

[196] Manning/Scott 1988, 13 mit Verweis auf Dorothy Charlesworth.

[197] Cichorius 1896-1900, Tafel LXXXI, Szene CX zeigt ebenfalls ein H-förmiges Gerüst.

[198] Manning/Scott 1988, 11 über den Kopf der Holztürme auf der Trajanssäule: 'This type of superstructure appears so often on the Column, both at gates and at interval towers, as to leave little doubt that by the end of the first century it was the normal form of timber tower.'

[199] Von der Abbildung auf der Trajanssäule abweichend hat man manchmal eine mit Brettern geschlossene Brustwehr angenommen: Schönberger 1975, 12 und Abb. 5 für Künzing Periode 1 und 2; Schönberger 1978, 27 Abb. 10 für Oberstimm; Manning/Scott 1988, 11 berichtet für Usk, dass sie anfänglich hinter der '*lattice parapet*' von einer '*plank backing*' ausgingen, dies aber bei genauerer Betrachtung nicht richtig sein kann. Die Trajanssäule gewährt nämlich einen Blick auf die Innenseite der Brustwehr, und daraus ergibt sich, dass von einer 'plank backing' keine Rede war. In diesem Aspekt erweisen sich die Zwischentürme als mit den auf der Trajanssäule abgebildeten Wachttürmen verwandt, deren Galerie ebenfalls eine offene Brustwehr erkennen lässt.

[200] Schönberger 1975, 18 berichtet, dass unter dem südöstlichen Eckturm van Künzing Periode 3 - die erste Steinbauphase nach der zweiseitigen Holz-Erde-Mauer von Periode 2 - ein Wassergräbchen angetroffen wurde. Daraus schloss Schönberger, dass eine offene Plattform anzunehmen ist. Richmond 1927, 14-15 und Plate VI und VIII und Johnson 1987, 82 für das tiberische Praetorianerlager in Rom, wofür aufgrund des Mauerwerks offene Türme angenommen werden. Hobley 1988, 40 auf ein nahe Orange gefundenes Mosaik mit offenen Tortürmen verweisend.

[201] Ursprünglich niederländische Übersetzung von Meijer. Milner 1993, 129 übersetzt 'small huts'. Hierzu auch Hobley 1988, 33.

[202] Junkelmann 1986, 216 mit Verweis auf Liv. 34.39.2-5 und 230: 'In beiden Fällen wird deutlich, wie wenig die Römer daran dachten, ihre Lagerbefestigungen zu bloßer passiver Verteidigung zu benutzen, sondern sie vielmehr zum Ausgangspunkt einer aggressiven Taktik zu machen bestrebt waren.' Wolters 2009, 87: 'Gegenüber den schwer bewaffneten Legionen waren sie (die Germanen) in einer offenen Schlacht strukturell unterlegen (…).'

[203] Manning/Scott 1988, 180 mit Verweis auf Tac. *Hist*. 4.15, wo beschrieben wird, dass die Römer bedrohte Militärlager selbst in Brand setzten, weil sie diese nicht verteidigen konnten.

[204] Junkelmann 1986, 229 mit Verweis auf Caes. *Gal*. 2.6.2-3 und 3.5.3. Auch Wolters 2009, 87-88.

[205] Tac. *Ger*. 6-8. Wolters 2009, 85-86.

[206] Caes. *Gal*. 2.6.3. Bosman 1995, 99-103 für Schleuderkugeln aus Blei. Baatz 1994, 294-302 zur Treffsicherheit von Schleudergeschossen.

[207] Wolters 2009, 85-86.

[208] Caes. *Gal*. 5.40.2.

[209] Manning/Scott 1988, 11 demzufolge die Plattformen der Türme auf der Trajanssäule 'occasional observations and as fighting platforms in the event of an attack' dienten. Vitr. 1.5.4 wo die Turmplattform in einem anderen Kontext, nämlich bei in Stein ausgeführten Verteidigungswerken einer Stadt, als Aufstellungsort für Schützen und Geschosse bezeichnet wird. Dazu auch Jones 1975, 92.

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Häuser und Mythenbilder in Pompeji als Spiegel der Gesellschaft

Jürgen Hodske

Abstract

Detailed statistical data have been combined in this article and provide how wall paintings and central mythological scenes, and with them a new luxurious taste, developed in Pompeian houses during the late Republic and early Empire. This development suggests there was a change in the social structure of the town. A new class gained influence, at the latest after the earthquake of AD 62, which led to a number of new families profiting from the reconstruction work. A new taste of luxury wall decorations with central mythological scenes spread out all over Pompeii, however most significant in the representative buildings of the rich inhabitants, who exhibited demonstratively their wealth.

The rise of the 'nouveaux riches' is also reflected in a small number of new themes for paintings, which are repeated permanently and monotonously. The mythological figures are now interchangeable, and erotic situations and naked attractive persons are the central feature, rather than the actual mythological narrative.

Einführung

Seit einigen Jahren rücken Fragen im Zusammenhang mit der Wohnkultur mehr und mehr in den Blickpunkt der Forschung. Das zunehmende Interesse spiegelt sich in den Publikationen der letzten Zeit wider.[1] Paul Zanker sieht beispielsweise in der Bildausstattung der späten pompejanischen Häuser vor allem ein Zeugnis der materialistischen Wertewelt der frühkaiserzeitlichen Gesellschaft.[2] Bereits die Villenkultur der ausgehenden Republik habe einer breiten provinziellen Schicht als Vorbild gedient.[3]

Das römische Wohnen zeichnet sich im Gegensatz zum modernen Verständnis durch das weitgehende Eindringen des öffentlichen, repräsentativen Lebens aus und dient der Selbstdarstellung des *pater familias* gegenüber seiner Klientel, den *amici* und den Mitgliedern der lokalen Magistrate.[4] Es gab in römischen Häusern keine klare räumliche Trennung zwischen öffentlichen und privaten Lebensbereichen, so dass den Wohnräumen eine vielfache Funktion zukam. Im Eingangsbereich kam es zur Begegnung mit sozial niedrig stehenden Personen und in den weiter hinten gelegenen Räumen des Hauses zum Empfang enger Freunde. Das *cubiculum* war z. B. nicht nur privates Schlafgemach, sondern diente auch dem Empfang besonders enger Freunde und zur Abwicklung von Geschäften. Die strenge raumtypologische Trennung, so wie sie uns heute geläufig ist, traf offenbar für die römischen Wohnhäuser nicht zu. Stattdessen bildet Andrew Wallace-Hadrill das Modell einer Raumaufteilung, das sich nach einer nuancierten Abstufung des sozialen Ranges von Besuchern und Bewohnern richtet.[5]

In diesem Beitrag wird den Beziehungen der Wanddekorationen und zentralen Mythenbilder als Ausdruck des Wohngeschmacks der Pompejaner zu Hausgrößen und Haustypen besonderes Gewicht beigemessen und weiter dargelegt, wie sich wenige Wandmalereien ab dem Ende der Republik bis zum Untergang der Stadt ausbreiteten und ständig wiederholten. Die Hausgröße wird definiert als die Grundfläche eines Gebäudes inklusive *atria* und Peristyle, doch ohne die Nutzgärten.[6] Die Haustypen werden unterschieden als Gebäude mit oder ohne *atrium* und Peristyl. Zusätzlich wird berücksichtigt, ob in den Gebäuden Wanddekorationen und zentrale Mythenbilder vorhanden sind und welchen pompejanischen Stilen diese zuzurechnen sind.[7]

Aus dem folgenden Diagramm gehen die immensen Größenunterschiede bei den 341 Wohnhäusern und deren mengenmäßige Verteilung in Pompeji hervor.

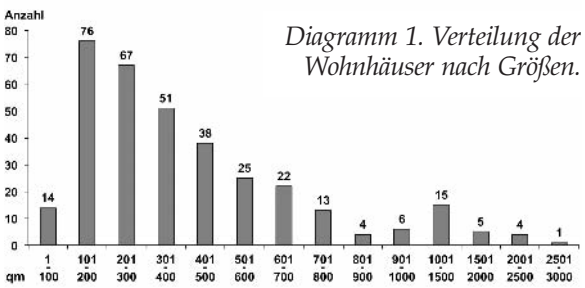


Diagramm 1. Verteilung der Wohnhäuser nach Größen.

Die Spannweite bei den Hausgrößen (von 30 qm bis über 2500 qm) macht die sozialen Unterschiede deutlich und weist auf eine sehr ungleiche Gesellschaftsstruktur in Pompeji hin. Die kleinsten Wohnhäuser mit einer Fläche unter 100 qm fallen nicht sehr ins Gewicht: Von den 14 Beispielen sind sieben Häuser größer als 90 qm und die restlichen Häuser gehörten ursprünglich zu größeren, benachbarten Gebäuden und wurden nach dem Erdbeben des Jahres 62 n. Chr. von diesen getrennt. Doch ansonsten zeigt sich: Je kleiner die Hausgrößen sind, desto häufiger kommen sie in Pompeji vor. Mit zunehmender Fläche gibt es weniger Wohnhäuser in der Stadt: Palastähnliche Häuser mit mehr als 1000 qm Grundfläche sind nur noch in 25 Fällen vorzufinden, nehmen dabei allerdings mehr als ein Viertel der gesamten Wohnhausflächen ein, und Häuser mit mehr als 1500 qm sind nur noch in zehn Fällen anzutreffen.

Hausgrößen und Haustypen sind als ein Indikator für Vermögen und sozialen Status anzusehen.[8] Das ist insofern bedeutsam, da wir ja in den meisten Fällen die Hausbewohner nicht kennen und auch nicht wissen, über welche gesellschaftliche Stellung sie verfügten und wie hoch ihr Vermögen war; doch die Hausgrößen und -typen sowie das Vorhandensein von Wanddekorationen und zentralen Mythenbildern geben einen Hinweis. So erregte die Geräumigkeit der großen Häuser der Reichen Kritik in konservativen Römerkreisen.[9] Sueton lobt dagegen die Bescheidenheit des Augustus, der in einem Haus lebte, das weder durch die Weitläufigkeit seiner Anlage noch durch Prunk der Ausstattung auffiel.[10] Vitruv hebt hervor, dass das *atrium* dem Empfang des Publikums diene und deswegen in den Häusern der Ärmeren nicht notwendig sei.[11] Daraus erklärt sich auch, dass mit der Größe der Häuser die Wahrscheinlichkeit wächst, dass sie ein *atrium* oder zusätzlich ein Peristyl aufweisen. Es kommt allerdings in wenigen Fällen auch vor, dass kleine Häuser mit einem *atrium* ausgestattet sind bzw. umgekehrt, dass bei einigen großen Häusern ein solches fehlt.

Es kann somit vermutet werden, dass, je größer ein Gebäude ist, es desto häufiger auch Eindruck machende Wanddekorationen und zentrale Mythenbilder besitzt. Das Gleiche gilt für Gebäude mit *atrium* und/oder Peristyl. Die Häuser ohne *atrium* sind nach Vitruv nicht so repräsentativ und benötigen deswegen auch weniger aufwendige Dekorationen. Heute kann allerdings meist nicht mehr geklärt werden, inwieweit fehlende Wanddekorationen bereits in der Antike oder erst in moderner Zeit zerstört worden sind, beispielsweise aus mangelndem Interesse an der Bildthematik.

Hausgrössen

Im Folgenden werden außer den Wohnhäusern auch die *tabernae* sowie gewerblich und gemischt genutzte Gebäude mit einbezogen.[12]

Als Nächstes wird zusammenfassend gegenübergestellt, inwiefern bei den unterschiedlich großen Häusern Wanddekorationen und zentrale Mythenbilder fehlen oder nachzuweisen sind.[13]

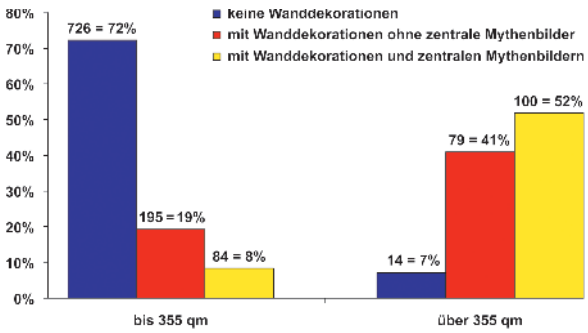


Diagramm 2.
Hausgrößen mit und ohne Wanddekorationen.

Von den insgesamt 1198 erfassten Gebäuden haben sich in 458 Fällen Wanddekorationen in wenigstens einem Raum erhalten, davon sind 184 zusätzlich mit zentralen Mythenbildern ausgestattet. Bei 740 Gebäuden können dagegen überhaupt keine dekorierten Räume nachgewiesen werden. Es ist allerdings zu bedenken, dass wir nur den Zustand in den Erdgeschossen kennen. Soweit sich die Obergeschosse zumindest bruchstückhaft erhalten haben, muss festgestellt werden, dass auch dort Wanddekorationen üblich waren und es kann nicht daran gezweifelt werden, dass das Verbreitungsbild zu erweitern wäre, wenn die Obergeschosse weniger fragmentarisch überlebt hätten.

Unter den kleinen Gebäudeeinheiten befinden sich auch 649 *tabernae*. In diesen kleinen Gebäuden finden sich nur ausnahmsweise Wanddekorationen und besonders zentrale Mythenbilder. Die *tabernae* sowie die gewerblichen Betriebe sind heute häufig völlig verfallen, obwohl deren Wände möglicherweise ursprünglich bemalt waren. Ähnlich verhält es sich bei Häusern mit großen Nutzgärten. Die eigentliche Gebäudefläche ist nämlich meistens klein und es können, wie bei den Gewerbebetrieben und Kaufläden, heute meist keine bemalten Wände mehr dokumentiert werden.

Bei den Gebäuden über 355 qm haben sich am häufigsten Wandmalereien erhalten. Die meisten Beispiele entfallen auf Wohnhäuser, von denen 88% entsprechend ausgestattet sind.

Je größer die Grundfläche wird, desto mehr nimmt die Anzahl der entsprechenden Gebäude ab, während Wanddekorationen oder gar zentrale Mythenbilder häufiger vorkommen. Dabei nehmen die wenigen Gebäude mit einer Grundfläche von mehr als 600 qm bereits 38% der gesamten bebauten Fläche ein.

Aus dem Diagramm geht klar hervor, dass das Vorhandensein oder Fehlen von Wanddekorationen mit oder ohne zentrale Mythenbilder mit der Hausgröße korreliert: Gebäude bis zu 355 qm besitzen nur in wenigen Fällen dekorierte Wände (19%) oder zentrale Mythenbilder (8%). Bei der Größenordnung über 355 qm verdoppelt sich der Anteil der Gebäude mit Wanddekorationen, doch ohne zentrale Mythenbilder auf 41% und mehr als die Hälfte der großen Häuser sind zusätzlich mit zentralen Mythenbildern an den Wänden ausgestattet.

Geht man davon aus, dass Wanddekorationen und besonders zentrale Mythenbilder Statussymbole sind, so bestätigt diese Entwicklung deutlich, dass auch die Hausgrößen mit dem Bedürfnis nach Repräsentation und Status zusammenhängen. Vitruv macht deutlich, dass für hochstehende Personen weiträumige Empfangsbereiche angemessen und für die Ärmeren nicht notwendig seien.[14]

Beim Mythenrepertoire lassen sich zwischen der Bildausstattung in den kleinen Gebäuden und den großen Stadtpalästen keine bedeutsamen Unterschiede feststellen. In kleinen Häusern häufen sich Darstellungen der verlassenen Ariadne, von Paris und Helena, aus dem Artemis-Mythos und der weissagenden Kassandra. Umgekehrt kommen in größeren Häusern Darstellungen mit Pasiphae, Leda, Danae und Zeus, des mit Eros ringenden Pan sowie Pindaros und Korinna etwas vermehrt vor. Doch es sind zu wenig Beispiele, um daraus Gesetzmäßigkeiten ableiten zu können. Lediglich die sieben Darstellungen mit Orestes und Pylades vor Iphigenie kommen nur in überdurchschnittlich großen Gebäuden vor, das früheste Beispiel ab dem späten Dritten Stil (*Abb. 1*).

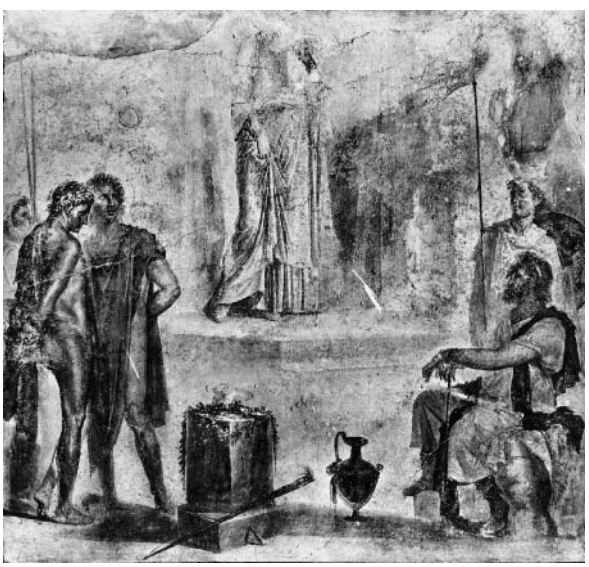
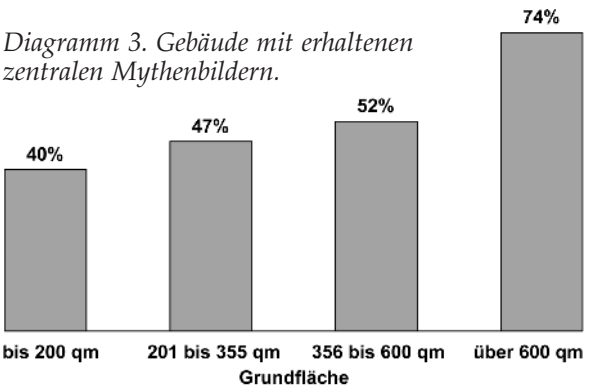


Abb. 1. Orestes, Pylades und Iphigenie aus der Casa del Citarista, Grundfläche: 2266 qm (MNN 9111).

In kleineren Gebäuden kommen aber nicht nur weniger zentrale Mythenbilder vor, sondern es sind bis heute auch mehr davon zerstört oder verloren gegangen, die ursprünglich durch die Ausgräber belegt worden sind und - wenn überhaupt - nur durch zeichnerische Kopien nachzuweisen. In größeren Häusern haben sich dagegen mehr Bildbeispiele im Original erhalten und mit größer werdender Grundfläche nimmt deren Anteil zu. Das spricht dafür, dass die Ausgräber anfangs mehr Wert auf die Erhaltung der großen Stadthäuser gelegt haben und die kleineren Gebäude verfallen ließen.

Diagramm 3. Gebäude mit erhaltenen zentralen Mythenbildern.



Bei Gebäuden bis zu 200 qm hat sich nur 40% der ursprünglich nachgewiesenen Bildausstattung erhalten, 60% ist verloren. Mit zunehmender Größe nimmt der Anteil der erhaltenen Bilder zu. Bei Gebäuden über 600 qm haben sich 74% der ursprünglich vorhandenen Bilder erhalten und nur 26% sind vernichtet.

Soweit sich allerdings in kleinen Häusern zentrale Mythenbilder finden, zeugen sie fast immer von hoher handwerklicher Qualität. In den großen Häusern gibt es zwar ebenfalls zahlreiche qualitätvolle Bilder; doch daneben kommen auch weniger sorgfältig gemalte Fresken vor, wie der folgende Vergleich mit Ausschnitten aus demselben Bildthema vorführt, nämlich mit der Keule des Herakles spielende Eroten am Hofe der Königin Omphale (*Abb. 2 und 3*).

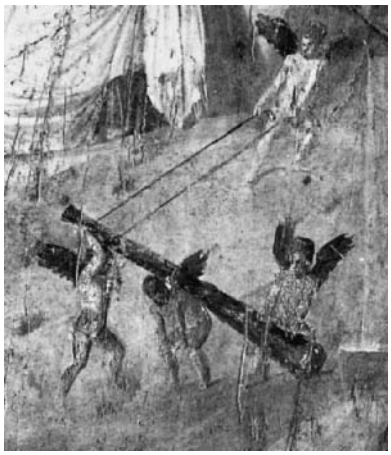


Abb. 2.
Herakles am Hofe der Königin Omphale, Scavo del Principe di Montenegro (168 qm), MNN 9000.

Abb. 3.
Herakles am Hofe der Königin Omphale, Casa di Sirico (1029 qm); in situ *(Rom, ICCD , Fototeca Nazionale: N53736).*

Haustypen

Bei den Haustypen, d. h. Gebäuden mit oder ohne *atrium* und Peristyl, sind die Zusammenhänge ähnlich wie bei den Hausgrößen.[15]

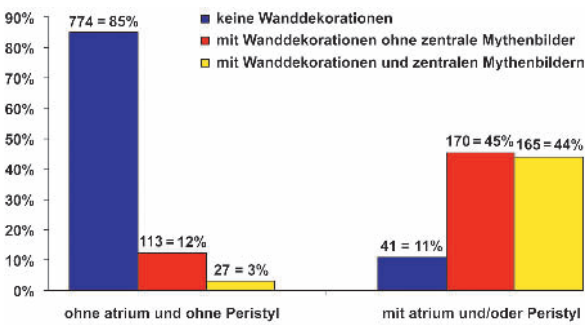


Diagramm 4.
Haustypen mit und ohne Wanddekorationen.

914 Gebäude besitzen weder ein *atrium* noch ein Peristyl. Davon sind 680 gleichzeitig kleiner als 100 qm und die meisten entfallen auf *tabernae* oder Gewerbebetriebe. 774 der Gebäude ohne *atrium* und ohne Peristyl besitzen überhaupt keine Wanddekorationen (85%); das heißt, dass fast alle Gebäude ohne Wanddekorationen weder ein *atrium* noch ein Peristyl aufweisen.

113 Gebäude ohne *atrium* und ohne Peristyl sind mit Wanddekorationen ohne zentrale Mythenbilder und lediglich 27 Beispiele mit zentralen Mythenbildern ausgestattet. Davon gehörten wiederum zehn Häuser ursprünglich zu größeren Gebäudekomplexen mit *atrium* und Peristyl; zehn dieser Häuser, die alle in römischer Zeit umgebaut worden sind, besitzen immerhin ein *atrium testudinatum*, und fünf von ihnen sind lediglich angegraben oder ihre genaue Lage ist heute nicht mehr festzustellen. Es verbleiben somit nur zwei mit zentralen Mythenbildern ausgestattete Gebäude ohne *atrium* und ohne Peristyl.

Wenden wir uns nun den 376 Gebäuden zu, die entweder mit einem *atrium* oder Peristyl oder mit beidem ausgestattet sind. Wie bereits vorher deutlich wurde, überwiegen mit 335 Beispielen (89%) die Fälle mit Wanddekorationen, von denen wiederum 165 (44%) zusätzlich mit zentralen Mythenbildern versehen sind. 167 Gebäude besitzen sogar beides, ein *atrium* als auch ein Peristyl, und können deshalb als besonders repräsentativ angesehen werden. Von diesen geräumigen Gebäuden besitzen fast alle, nämlich 163 (98%), Räume mit dekorierten Wänden und davon wiederum 104 zentrale Mythenbilder, was 54% aller Gebäude mit solcher Bildausstattung entspricht.

Doch auch die Häuser mit nur einem dieser repräsentativen Bereiche, also entweder *atrium*, doch ohne Peristyl oder umgekehrt, besitzen zum überwiegenden Teil Wanddekorationen, obgleich sich zentrale Mythenbilder deutlich seltener finden.

Die Schwerpunkte zeigen sich besonders deutlich bei der prozentualen Gegenüberstellung: Gebäude ohne Wanddekorationen besitzen nur ausnahmsweise ein *atrium* und/oder Peristyl und umgekehrt steigt der Anteil der Gebäude mit dekorierten Wänden oder zentralen Mythenbildern bei den Haustypen mit *atrium* und/oder Peristyl deutlich an.

Zusammenfassender Vergleich

Abschließend sollen die getroffenen Feststellungen noch einmal zusammengefasst werden.

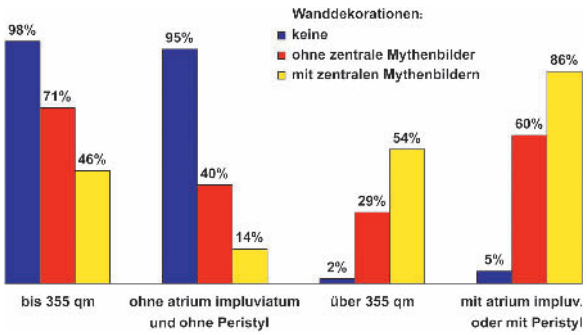


Diagramm 5. Hausgrößen und Haustypen, Prozentuale Verteilung.

Im Gegensatz zu den vorherigen Gegenüberstellungen wird jetzt nicht nach den unterschiedlichen Hausgrößen bzw. Haustypen gewichtet, sondern nach deren Anteil innerhalb der Hausgrößen oder Haustypen. Durch diese Gegenüberstellung wird besonders deutlich, dass die kleinen Gebäude bis zu 355 qm und diejenigen ohne *atrium* und ohne Peristyl miteinander korrelieren: Denn fast alle Gebäude ohne Wanddekorationen sind kleiner als 355 qm (98%) bzw. besitzen kein *atrium* und/oder Peristyl (95 %). Die Feststellungen werden umgekehrt durch den Vergleich der Häuser mit Wanddekorationen bzw. mit zentralen Mythenbildern bestätigt: 54% der Häuser über 355 qm und sogar 86% derjenigen mit *atrium* und/oder Peristyl besitzen zentrale Mythenbilder. Es zeigt sich somit, dass vor allem die Ausstattung mit einem *atrium* und/oder Peristyl als repräsentativ gelten kann, da deutlich zu sehen ist, dass die Wände dieser Gebäudetypen am häufigsten dekoriert und darüber hinaus vor allem mit zentralen Mythenbildern ausgestattet sind. Es kam auf das *atrium* mit *impluvium* und *compluvium* als repräsentativem Empfangsraum an und erst in zweiter Linie auf die Hausgröße. Den Häusern ohne *atrium* und ohne Peristyl kamen keine repräsentativen Aufgaben zu und sie brauchten deshalb auch nicht mit teuren und luxuriösen Wanddekorationen zu beeindrucken. Das *atrium testudinatum* spielte offenbar ebenfalls keine repräsentative Rolle, da in diesem Gebäudetyp, soweit jedenfalls zusätzlich kein Peristyl vorhanden war, es wiederum nur zehn Beispiele mit zentralen Mythenbildern gibt.

Zeitliche Ausbreitung der Wanddekorationen

Die Bestandsaufnahme der Wanddekorationen und zentralen Mythenbilder offenbart allerdings nur den Zustand zum Zeitpunkt der Katastrophe im Jahre 79 n. Chr., das kumulierte Ergebnis einer über zweihundertjährigen Entwicklung. Es geht jedoch nicht daraus hervor, inwieweit sich der neue Wohngeschmack mit aufwendigen Wanddekorationen und zentralen Mythenbildern ab dem Ende der Republik im Laufe der Zeit bis zum Untergang der Stadt in der Gesellschaft ausgebreitet und verändert hat. Wie bereits erwähnt, Hausgrößen und Haustypen, aber auch Wanddekorationen und zentrale Mythenbilder, sind als Indikator für Vermögen und sozialen Status anzusehen.[16] Um Veränderungen bei der Beliebtheit von Wanddekorationen und zentralen Mythenbildern von den unteren zu den höheren pompejanischen Schichten oder umgekehrt zu ermitteln, müssten deshalb die Statistiken über Hausgrößen, Haustypen und deren Ausstattung mit Wanddekorationen und zentralen Mythenbildern während der aufeinander folgenden Stilepochen miteinander verknüpft werden.

Wenn der Wohnluxus der Oberschicht, ausgedrückt durch Wanddekorationen und zentrale Mythenbilder, von Zanker als Nachahmung der Villenarchitektur bezeichnet,[17] in den letzten Jahrzehnten der Stadt immer häufiger nachgeahmt wurde[18] und weiteste Kreise erfasste, vor allem nach 62 n. Chr., so müsste das durch diesen Vergleich deutlich werden. Die frühen Wanddekorationen müssten in den großen Gebäuden bzw. solchen mit *atrium* und/oder Peristyl weiter verbreitet sein, während sich die jüngeren Wanddekorationen umgekehrt in den kleinen und mittleren, unterdurchschnittlich großen Häusern bzw. solchen ohne *atrium* oder Peristyl weiter ausbreiten müssten.

Zuerst soll verglichen werden, wie sich der Anteil der Wanddekorationen in Häusern ohne zentrale Mythenbilder verändert hat. Dazu werden der Erste und der Zweite Stil zusammengefasst als Beispiele für die republikanische Zeit, da es zu wenig Beispiele davon gibt, um sie statistisch getrennt auszuwerten. Es kommt auch vielfach vor, dass nicht nur ein Dekorationsstil, sondern mehrere gleichzeitig in einem Gebäude existieren. Gebäude, in denen der Dritte und der Vierte Stil gleichzeitig vorkommen, werden denen mit dem Vierten Stil zugeschlagen, da es sich bei den Beispielen aus dem Dritten Stil überwiegend um dessen Spätzeit, die Übergangszeit vom Dritten zum Vierten Stil handelt. Ansonsten werden sol-

che Gebäude, die Wanddekorationen aus mehreren Stilepochen gleichzeitig besitzen, hier ausgeklammert. Als Schwelle für die Gruppierung der Hausgrößen wurde zuerst wiederum der Median von 355 qm gewählt.

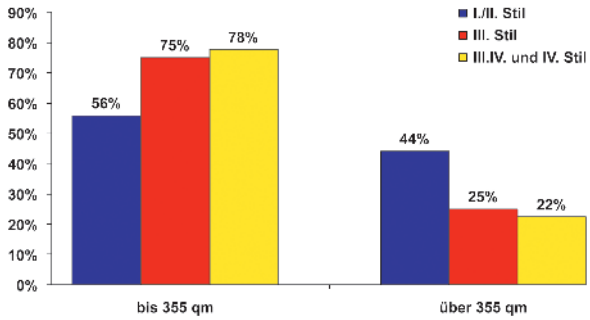


Diagramm 6. Gebäude mit Wanddekorationen ohne zentrale Mythenbilder, nach Hausgrößen.

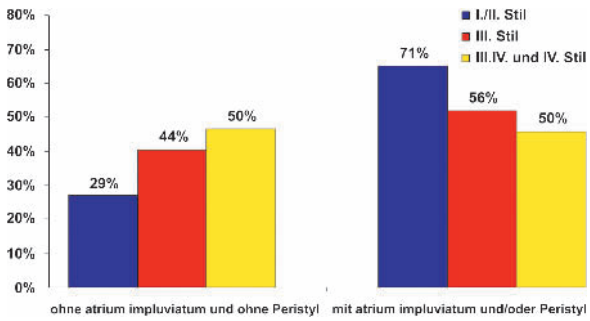


Diagramm 7. Gebäude mit Wanddekorationen ohne zentrale Mythenbilder, nach Haustypen.

In beiden Vergleichen steigt der Anteil der Wanddekorationen in den kleinen Häusern bis zu 355 qm sowie den Häusern ohne *atrium* und/oder ohne Peristyl kontinuierlich im Verlauf der zeitlichen Entwicklung. Das heißt, dass sich die einfachen Wanddekorationen ohne zentrale Mythenbilder ab dem Ende der Republik immer mehr in kleineren und nicht so repräsentativen Häusern verbreitet haben. In der älteren Zeit waren somit die überdurchschnittlich großen Gebäude und solche mit *atrium* häufiger entsprechend dekoriert. Das scheint auf den ersten Blick die These zu bestätigen, dass der neue, luxuriöse Wohnstil im Laufe der Zeit immer häufiger von breiteren Bevölkerungsschichten imitiert wurde.

Doch ab dem Dritten Stil waren die zentralen Mythenbilder das bestimmende Dekor und nicht mehr nur Wanddekorationen ohne solche Ausstattung. Deshalb sind es ab dieser Zeit auch eher die zentralen Mythenbilder als die einfachen Wanddekorationen, die als Statussymbol gelten.

Es wird ersichtlich, dass zentrale Mythenbilder ab augusteischer Zeit (später Zweiter bis Dritter Stil) häufiger in den unterdurchschnittlich großen Häusern vertreten waren als später. Dagegen nimmt der Anteil der Beispiele mit zentralen Mythenbildern aus der Zeit des ausgehenden Dritten und des Vierten Stils bei den Häusern über 355 qm deutlich zu.

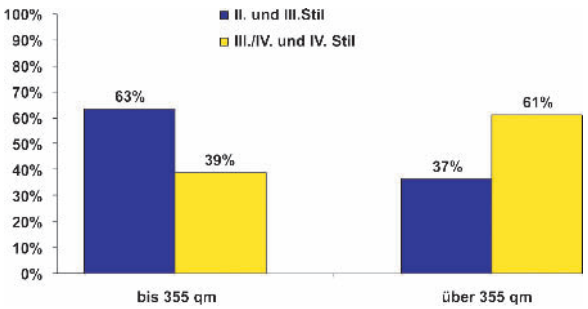


Diagramm 8. Gebäude mit zentralen Mythenbildern, nach Hausgrößen.

Diese Tendenz findet sich auch bei den Gebäudetypen wieder. Die Unterschiede sind zwar geringer als bei den Hausgrößen, doch deutlich. Es sind wiederum die repräsentativen Häuser mit *atrium*, die während des Vierten Stils häufiger als vorher mit zentralen Mythenbildern dekoriert worden sind.

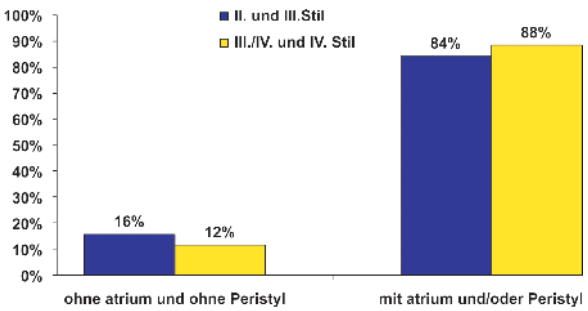


Diagramm 9. Gebäude mit zentralen Mythenbildern, nach Haustypen.

Noch deutlicher wird diese Entwicklung, wenn die Schwelle für die Grundfläche erhöht wird und Gebäude unter und über 600 qm miteinander verglichen werden (*Diagramm 10*).

Zur Zeit des Dritten Stils waren 90% der Gebäude mit einer Grundfläche von bis zu 600 qm mit zentralen Mythenbildern geschmückt und nur 10% der Gebäude mit einer Grundfläche von mehr als 600 qm. Zur Zeit des Vierten Stils sind zwar immer noch 65% der kleineren und 35% der

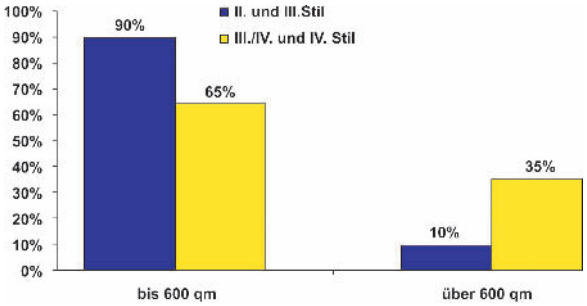


Diagramm 10. Gebäude mit zentralen Mythenbildern, nach Hausgrößen (Schwelle 600 qm).

größeren Gebäude mit zentralen Mythenbildern ausgestattet. Doch entscheidend ist die Verschiebung innerhalb der Gebäudegrößen: Während des Zweiten und Dritten Stils besaßen anteilmäßig mehr kleinere Häuser als nach dem späten Dritten Stil zentrale Mythenbilder und während dieser letzten Jahrzehnte sind 35% der Gebäude in Pompeji mit einer Grundfläche von über 600 qm (gegenüber nur 10% während des späten Zweiten und des Dritten Stils) mit zentralen Mythenbildern ausgestattet. Zentrale Mythenbilder als Ausdruck eines neuen, luxuriösen Wohngeschmacks haben sich also somit im Verlauf der Zeit immer mehr in den großen Gebäuden verbreitet.

Dieselbe Entwicklung zeigt sich übrigens auch deutlich, wenn nur Wohnhäuser für den Vergleich zugrunde gelegt werden, denn Wohnhäuser gehören zu den Gebäuden, in denen zentrale Mythenbilder am häufigsten vorkommen. Es sind wiederum die großen Wohnhäuser der Reichen, in denen die zentralen Mythenbilder der letzten Periode besonders häufig vertreten sind.

Überdurchschnittlich große Gebäude mit vielen Räumen, die außerdem ein *atrium* besitzen, sind während der letzten Jahrzehnte Pompejis, relativ gesehen, häufiger mit den repräsentativen zentralen Mythenbildern ausgestattet worden. Bei den weiter oben erfassten Gebäuden mit einer Grundfläche über 600 qm fehlt lediglich in drei Fällen ein *atrium*; es handelt sich in allen Fällen um gewerbliche Betriebe.

Zu diesen Ergebnissen passt es gut, dass bei den Häusern mit Wanddekorationen, doch ohne zentrale Mythenbilder, der Anteil der großen und repräsentativen *domus* im Laufe der Zeit abnimmt. Häuser mit Dekorationen Ersten und Zweiten Stils, also vor dem Aufkommen der zentralen Mythenbilder, sind bei den großen und repräsentativen Häusern häufiger vertreten als in späterer Zeit. Das entspricht insofern den Feststellungen von Wallace-Hadrill, dass Wanddekorationen während der Republik in aufwendigen Häusern häufiger vorkamen als in der frühen Kaiserzeit,[19] wenn auch der Wechsel nicht so dramatisch verlief, wie er es ermittelt hat.

Doch auch vom Dritten zum Vierten Stil nimmt der Anteil der großen und aufwendigen *domus* mit Wanddekorationen, doch ohne zentrale Mythenbilder, ab, im Gegensatz zu der Entwicklung bei den Häusern mit zentralen Mythenbildern. Diese Entwicklung hängt sicherlich damit zusammen, dass der neue Wohngeschmack zentrale Mythenbilder umfasste und deshalb die einfacheren Dekorationen ohne solche Bilder zurückgingen bzw. sich eher in den nicht so prächtigen Häusern konzentrierten.

Ab der Zeit des Vierten Stils herrscht die Tendenz vor, immer mehr die großen und repräsentativen Häuser mit zentralen Mythenbildern zu dekorieren. Der neue Wohngeschmack war nach Zanker zwar in ganz Pompeji beliebt, aber er fand seine signifikantesten Ausprägungen in solchen Häusern, deren Besitzer wohl zu den wohlhabenden, aber nicht zu den altreichen Familien gehörten und die nach dem Erdbeben des Jahres 62 n. Chr. ihr Geld durch Handel und Gewerbe verdient hatten[20] und in kurzer Zeit zu Reichtum gekommen waren. Zu diesen neureichen Aufsteigern gehörten auch zahlreiche Freigelassene und deren Nachkommen, deren Wohlstand sprichwörtlich war und die der Bildung der römischen Oberschicht nacheiferten.[21]

Es sind gerade die palastähnlichen Wohnhäuser, die in den letzten Jahrzehnten der Stadt im neuen Stil luxuriös ausgemalt worden sind. Von den 15 größten Wohnhäusern mit zentralen Mythenbildern besitzen zehn Häuser ausschließlich Bilder im Vierten Stil, drei Häuser gleichzeitig Bilder im Dritten und im Vierten Stil und zwei Häuser Bilder unbekannten Stils. Insgesamt weisen nur zwei Wohnhäuser über 1500 qm namhafte Dekorationen im Ersten und Zweiten Stil auf, nämlich das größte Wohnhaus überhaupt, die Casa del Fauno sowie die Casa di M. Obellius Firmus.

Veränderung im Bildthemenrepertoire

Während des Vierten Stils, also den letzten Jahrzehnten der Stadt, ging das Bildthemenspektrum erheblich zurück, während gleichzeitig neue Bildthemen mit nur einem oder zwei Protagonisten und relativ unkomplizierten Kompositionsschemata aufkamen, die sich ständig und stereotyp wiederholten. Das passt zum Aufstieg einer neureichen Schicht, die sich in ihrem Auftreten so weit wie möglich der Oberschicht anzunähern

versucht. Während des Dritten Stils entfallen im Schnitt 1,9 Mythenbilder auf ein Bildthema, indem sich der Anteil während des Vierten Stils auf 4,0 Mythenbilder je Bildthema erhöht und sich die Themenvielfalt somit mehr als halbiert hat.[22]

Es handelt sich um etwas mehr als zehn Bildthemen, die als Erfindungen dieser Zeit anzusehen sind, uns immer wieder begegnen und zu einer regelrechten Bilderschwemme führten. Die Dargestellten haben mit der Sinnfälligkeit des überlieferten Mythos oft nur noch wenig zu tun und beschränken sich auf die Vorführung nackter und attraktiver Körper. Die Protagonisten werden häufig einander angeglichen und sind vielfach nur anhand ihrer Attribute zu erkennen und ansonsten austauschbar. Es werden immer wieder erotische Situationen thematisiert und weniger die mythologische Erzählung.

Die originalen Bildfresken sind heute häufiger als andere Bildbeispiele zerstört und vielfach nur noch durch Reproduktionen aus der Zeit der Ausgräber nachweisbar. Erst ab der Zeit Giuseppe Fiorellis ging man dazu über, auch diese zur Zeit des Vierten Stils modischen und von den Ausgräbern anfangs nicht so geschätzten Fresken zu sichern.

Bei diesen neuen Bildthemen handelt es sich um Aphrodite als Fischerin und Narkissos, die häufigsten Bildmotive der Zeit; weiter Europa und Phrixos, zwei nackte Personen, die von einem Tier über das Meer getragen werden; Leda sowie Ganymedes, der ganz ähnlich wie Narkissos gezeigt wird; bei den Darstellungen mit Endymion und Selene wird die herabfliegende Mondgöttin Leda angeglichen und Endymion nackten Jünglingsgestalten wie Narkissos; weiter Liebespaare wie Aphrodite und Ares oder Adonis, nur zu unterscheiden durch die Waffen des Kriegsgottes bzw. die Wunde am Oberschenkel des Adonis; Aphrodite und Ares sowie Perseus und Andromeda sind ebenfalls nur anhand der attributiven Waffen des Ares sowie den Kopfflügeln und Flügelschuhen des Perseus und dem Medusenhaupt zu erkennen; schließlich Apollon und Daphne, Apollon mit Köcher und hinter Daphne ein Lorbeerbaum.

Von den vorgestellten zehn neuen Bildthemen gibt es 173 Bildbeispiele, ein Drittel aller zentralen Mythenbilder der Zeit. Die Vielfalt der Motive ging gegenüber dem Dritten Stil erheblich zurück. Diese einfachen Kompositionen mit dem Schwergewicht auf erotischen Situationen werden besonders häufig in Räumen zu Bildensembles verknüpft und kommen in 116 der insgesamt 167 Bildzusammenstellungen der Zeit vor, also nahezu zwei Dritteln. Es ist der Lebensstil und Geschmack des Trimalchio, des reichen Freigelassenen, der auf die römische Oberschicht fixiert und bei der Verbreitung des neuen Wohngeschmacks führend gewesen ist.[23]

Die neuen Bildmotive weisen einige Gemeinsamkeiten auf. Es werden immer nur eine Person oder ein Liebespaar dargestellt, gelegentlich von Staffagepersonen wie Eroten, Nymphen oder Tieren wie Stier oder Schwan begleitet. Die Dargestellten sind nahezu unbekleidet und die vom Körper gerutschte Kleidung wird so drapiert, dass der erotische, nackte Körper dem Betrachter präsentiert wird. Bei den Frauen bilden sich blähende und flatternde Gewänder häufig eine Art Folie hinter ihnen. Die Kompositionsschemata sind relativ einfach und unkompliziert aufgebaut und ähneln sich häufig. Die Bildformate sind fast immer klein mit einer Seitenlänge von weniger als 70 cm. Die anatomischen Details sind häufig nachlässig und ungeschickt gestaltet und die Motive werden nur annähernd wiedergegeben.

Im Folgenden sollen diese zehn häufigen neuen Bildthemen bildlich vorgestellt werden.

Es entsteht ein neues Schönheitsideal, nämlich androgyn wirkende, nackte Knaben,[24] darunter vor allem Narkissos, der in sich selbst verliebte junge Jäger. Darstellungen mit ihm erfreuten sich während dieser Zeit großer Beliebtheit (*Abb 4*).

*Abb. 4. Narkissos, Casa dell'Ara massima (*PPM *V 881, Abb. 45. Photo Grunwald, DAI Zentrale Berlin).*

Fast immer sitzt er zurückgelehnt da, sein Körper durchschneidet das Bildfeld diagonal. Er hat allenfalls einen Mantel umgelegt und sein Geschlecht ist immer zu sehen. Meist blickt er über sein Spiegelbild hinweg und der Aspekt der zerstörerischen Selbstverliebtheit bleibt unberücksichtigt. Auf einigen Abbildungen befinden sich Grabanlagen im Hintergrund und Eroten mit erhobener oder gesenkter Fackel. Diese Hinweise verweisen auf eine Verbindung des jungen Lebens mit Tod und Wiedergeburt.

Das Schema des fast nackten jungen Mannes ist in dieser Zeit auch bei anderen mythischen Figuren anzutreffen. In ähnlicher Weise werden Ganymedes, der verletzte Adonis und Kyparissos dargestellt, deren Körper ebenfalls nur leicht von einem Mantel bedeckt werden. Die nackten Jünglinge sind nur durch ihre Attribute und ikonographische Besonderheiten zu unterscheiden, nämlich das Spiegelbild im Wasser bei Narkissos, den Dreifuß und den verwundeten Hirsch bei Kyparissos und die Verwundung am Oberschenkel bei Adonis. In einigen Fällen erkennt man im Hintergrund Architektur, möglicherweise Grabmale (*Abb. 5 und 6*).

Die Vorliebe für androgyne Körper wird besonders deutlich bei den Darstellungen des Hermaphroditen, die ebenfalls erst ab dem Vierten Stil auftauchen.

Mit zahlreichen Beispielen wird die so genannte Aphrodite als Fischerin, eine angelnde Aphrodite, vorgeführt (*Abb. 7*). Alle Beispiele zeigen die Liebesgöttin leicht bekleidet mit einer Angel am Ufer sitzend. Immer wird sie von ihrem kleinen Sohn Eros begleitet. Diese Darstellungen haben zweifellos erotische Bedeutung und Florian Seiler bemerkt dazu, dass der stets abseits gestellte Eros dem sehnsüchtigen Liebesmotiv des Fischzugs eine zusätzlich erotische Pointe verleihe.[25]

Narkissos und Aphrodite als Fischerin stellen die häufigsten Bildthemen der Zeit dar und allein in 45 Räumen werden beide allein oder sogar gemeinschaftlich mit anderen Bildern verbunden.

Androgyne Knaben werden auch gerne zusammen mit Frauen dargestellt, die sich ihren jungen Lieblingen nähern.

Endymion liegt schlafend da, die Arme angewinkelt im Ruhegestus über dem Kopf (*Abb. 8*). Das Kompositionsschema stimmt mit dem des Narkissos und der anderen Jünglingsgestalten überein. In allen Beispielen bleibt das Geschlecht unbedeckt. Der Jüngling ist von den anderen Knaben nur durch den Ruhegestus und die sich nähernde Mondgöttin zu unterscheiden. Die Göttin schwebt von oben herab, nur leicht mit einem im Winde wehenden Mantel bekleidet. Sie ist durch eine Mondsichel über ihrer Stirn oder einen Nimbus gekennzeichnet. Bei einem Beispiel wird die Göttin gar nicht mehr abgebildet, sondern nur durch die Mondsichel angedeutet. Nicht sie und ihre Geschichte scheinen im Mittelpunkt des Interesses zu stehen, sondern der schöne Knabe. Auch in diesen Fällen wird gelegentlich im Hintergrund Grabarchitektur gezeigt.

Die Darstellungen mit den Geschwistern Phrixos und Helle, die mit Hilfe eines goldenen Widders

Abb. 5. Adonis, Casa di Successus (Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali. Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici delle Provincie di Napoli e Caserta, AFS A8630). Abb. 6. Kyparissos, Casa dei Vettii (HBr I 4/5 (1907) Taf. 45). Abb. 7. Aphrodite als Fischerin, Casa degli Amorini dorati, Cubiculum R (Foto Hodske su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali - Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei).

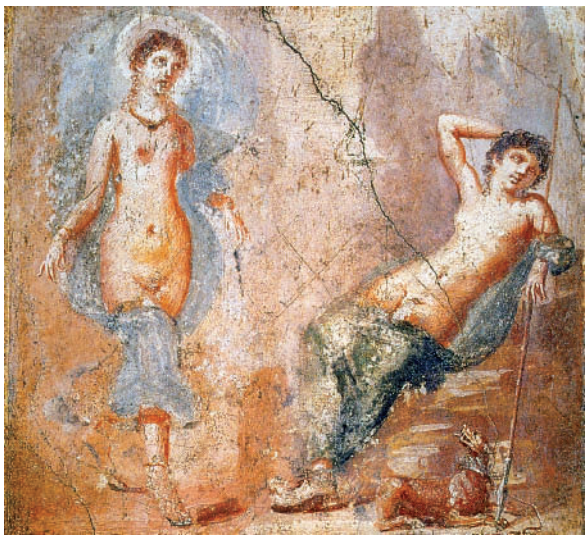


Abb. 8. Endymion und Selene, Casa dell'Ara massima, Ala F (Foto Hodske su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali - Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei).

über das Meer zu entfliehen suchen, zeigen den Knaben im Bildzentrum, während die ertrinkende Helle an den Bildrand gerückt oder gar nicht gezeigt wird (*Abb. 9*).

Phrixos, im herabgerutschten Mantel, sitzt seitwärts auf dem über das Meer fliegenden Widder und präsentiert frontal seinen nackten Körper. Mit der einen Hand hält er sich am Hals des Tieres fest, die andere Hand streckt er seiner Schwester entgegen, welche neben ihm mit erhobenen Armen im Meer versinkt. Auch bei diesem Beispiel mit Bruder und Schwester ist die Darstellung des schönen, nackten Knabenkörpers das eigentliche Anliegen und wird ins Bildzentrum gerückt. Phrixos präsentiert sich in seiner Blöße frontal dem Betrachter, in einer Haltung, in der er seine Schwester unmöglich retten könnte. Doch darum scheint es auch nicht zu gehen, sondern um die Darbietung seiner schönen, androgynen Erscheinung.

Ähnlich sind Darstellungen von der Entführung Europas. Sie schwebt nahezu nackt neben einem Stier über das Meer (*Abb. 10*). Mit einer Hand hält sie sich am Kopf des Tieres fest, mit der anderen Hand fasst sie ihren Mantel, der dekorativ hinter ihr im Winde flattert; in zwei Fällen fliegt sogar ein Eros mit über das Meer. Die Entführung Europas über das Meer ist von Nereiden, die auf Meereswesen reiten, kaum noch auseinander zu halten.

Die Darstellungen unterscheiden sich von solchen des Dritten Stils, welche den Mythos illus-

Abb. 9. Phrixos und Helle, Macellum (MB II Taf. 19; Foto Rossini).

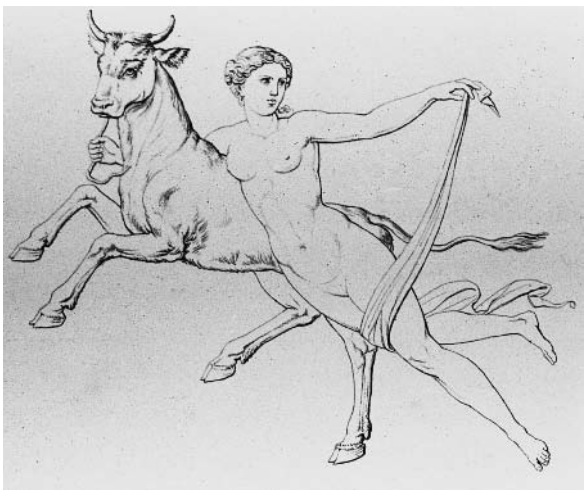


Abb. 10. Europas Entführung, Casa della Pescatrice (MB II Taf. 19; Foto Rossini).

trieren und ähnlich wiedergeben, wie er so auch bei Ovid vorkommt,[26] nämlich wie Zeus sich in der Gestalt eines Stieres der phönizischen Prinzessin am Meeresufer nähert (*Abb. 11*). Europa und ihre Begleiterinnen sind während der frühen Zeit züchtig gekleidet, während Europa später allein ihren nackten Körper dem Betrachter präsentiert.

In den Kontext der erotischen Frauenbilder gehören die Abbildungen mit Leda, die einen Schwan an ihren fast nackten Körper drückt (*Abb. 12*). Sie hat lediglich einen Mantel umgeworfen, der sich dekorativ, wenn auch in unbegründeter Weise, hinter ihr bläht.

In ganz ähnlicher Weise präsentiert Danae ihren nackten Körper, um den Goldregen von einem

Abb. 11. Europa am Meeresufer, Haus mit dem Raub der Europa, Triclinium 10 (Foto Hodske su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali - Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei).

über ihr schwebenden Eros zu empfangen. Beide Geliebte des Zeus sind nur durch ihre Attribute zu unterscheiden, den Schwan bei Leda bzw. den Goldregen bei Danae, ansonsten wären sie austauschbar (*Abb. 12 und 13*).

Besonders populär waren die Darstellungen von Aphrodite mit ihren Liebhabern Ares oder Adonis (*Abb. 14 und 15*).

Ab dem Vierten Stil sitzen die Liebesgöttin und der Kriegsgott als Liebespaar nahezu unbekleidet

Abb. 14. Aphrodite und Ares, Casa di Meleagro (MNN 9256).

nebeneinander; manchmal hält Aphrodite einen Blattfächer. Ares hat seine Waffen abgelegt, umfasst die Geliebte und versucht, sie an sich heranzuziehen und ihr das Gewand vom Körper zu streifen. Viele Darstellungen werden um einen oder mehrere Eroten erweitert, die mit den Waffen des Kriegsgottes spielen. Die eigentliche Erzählung ist verkürzt worden auf Nacktheit und Erotik. Lediglich die zu Spielzeug entfremdeten Waffen des Ares ermöglichen es, das Liebespaar zu identifizieren.

Die ursprünglich komplexen Darstellungen von Aphrodite und Adonis aus dem Dritten Stil wer-

Abb. 12. Leda, Casa di Narcisso (J. Overbeck, Atlas zur griechischen Kunstmythologie (1871-1879) Taf. VIII Nr. 10; Foto Rossini).
Abb. 13. Danae, Casa della Caccia antica (MNN 9549).

Abb. 15. Aphrodite und Adonis, Casa di Adone ferito, Viridarium 14 (Foto Hodske su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali - Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei).

den später ebenfalls verkürzt auf das Liebespaar und assistierende Eroten. Dabei werden die Rollen vertauscht: Der verletzte Adonis liegt passiv im Schoß der ihn stützenden Liebesgöttin.

Auch andere Liebespaare werden während des Vierten Stils nicht so sehr wegen des Mythos vorgeführt, sondern der Mythos dient den Wanddekorateuren oder Auftraggebern eher als Vorwand, schöne und nackte Körper zeigen zu können.

Perseus und Andromeda werden auf einem Bildthema des Vierten Stils ähnlich wie Aphrodite und Ares als Liebespaar gezeigt (*Abb. 16*). Die bedrohliche Situation spielt nun überhaupt keine Rolle mehr und ist einer Idylle gewichen, das in früheren Darstellungen abgebildete Seeungeheuer nicht mehr zu sehen. Beide sitzen engumschlungen auf einem Felsen und präsentieren fast immer durch die herabgerutschten Gewänder dem Betrachter frontal ihre Nacktheit. Perseus hat seine Waffen abgelegt und hält das Gorgonenhaupt hoch hinter sich. Das Paar blickt gleichgültig über das sich im Wasser spiegelnde Bild der Medusa hinweg, welches zusammen mit den Flügeln des Helden den einzigen Hinweis auf den Mythos bietet.

Apollon hat die Nymphe Daphne eingeholt und versucht, sie zu umarmen (*Abb. 17*). Durch den raschen Lauf sind beiden die Gewänder vom Körper gerutscht und wehen, völlig unnatürlich, weit aufgebauscht in verschiedenen Richtungen hinter ihnen her. Daphne beugt sich abwehrend zurück, sodass ihr nackter Körper frontal dem Betrachter präsentiert wird. Die Darstellungen entfernen sich von der Überlieferung, denn bevor Apollon die Nymphe einfangen konnte, hatte diese sich bereits in einen Lorbeerbaum verwandelt und blieb deshalb für den Gott unerreichbar.[27] Lediglich durch Attribute wie Leier, Köcher und Bogen oder Lorbeer ist das Paar als Apollon und Daphne zu identifizieren.

Abb. 16. Perseus und Andromeda, Casa del Principe di Napoli, Oecus k (Foto Hodske su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali - Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei).

Abb. 17. Apollon und Daphne, Casa di Marcus Lucretius (MNN 9536).

Schlussfolgerungen

Die Ergebnisse sind eindeutig und belegen, dass ab claudischer oder neronischer Zeit sich ein neuer, luxuriöser Wohngeschmack, ausgedrückt durch zentrale Mythenbilder, bevorzugt in den großen und repräsentativen *domus* verbreitete. Der späte Stil ist nicht so häufig wie vorher in den kleinen und nicht repräsentativen Häusern anzutreffen und die Imitation des Wohngeschmacks einer aristokratischen Elite hat sich somit nicht immer weiter in der Gesellschaft ausgebreitet, sondern ist, im Gegenteil, bevorzugt von einer neureichen Aufsteigerschicht übernommen worden. Amedeo Maiuri mutmaßte, dass nach dem Erdbeben des Jahres 62 n. Chr. größere soziale und wirtschaftliche Veränderungen in Pompeji stattfanden, eine neue Aufsteigerschicht sich etablierte und sich im Zusammenhang damit ein banaler und dürftiger Geschmack verbreitete.[28]

Es kann hier nicht endgültig festgestellt werden, ob der neue Wohngeschmack in luxuriösen Häusern sich bereits in claudischer Zeit verbreitete

oder erst etwas später einsetzte. Paavo Castrén hat postuliert, dass schon im letzten Regierungsjahr Caligulas eine Krise einsetzte, die bis zum Ende der vierziger Jahre des 1. Jhs. n. Chr. andauerte und Veränderungen beim Magistrat und den Amtsträgern der Stadt bewirkte.[29] Unter Nero hätte diese Krise bewältigt werden können und die jährlichen Magistrate seien wieder nachzuweisen. Castréns Auswertungen seines prosopographischen Materials sind allerdings umstritten und seine Schlussfolgerungen über das politische Leben der Stadt überschreiten manchmal die Grenzen des Beweisbaren.[30]

Gleichwohl gab es einige Freigelassene, vor allem Augustales, die ihren Reichtum demonstrativ zur Schau stellten.[31] In Pompeji wie in anderen italischen Städten gehörten zu diesen Aufsteigern auch zahlreiche Nachkommen von Freigelassenen. Die wirtschaftliche und soziale Situation in der Stadt nach dem schweren Erdbeben von 62 n. Chr., in der Bauunternehmer, Makler, Handel- und Gewerbetreibende den Ton angaben, hat diese Schicht noch mehr als anderswo begünstigt.[32]

Der neue Wohngeschmack verbreitete sich zwar in ganz Pompeji, doch fand er ab claudisch-neronischer Zeit seine signifikantesten Ausprägungen in den repräsentativen Häusern der Reichen. Er hängt zusammen mit einem sich neu formierenden sozialen Gefüge, das sich auch in der Bildthematik artikulierte. Der zunehmende Reichtum der Freigelassenen, die ihren Wohlstand vor allem nach dem Erdbeben in kurzer Zeit gewonnen haben, hatte dazu geführt, dass diese dem Wohnluxus der römischen Oberschicht nacheiferten[33] und ihren Reichtum zur Schau stellten.[34]

Aufgrund der Statistiken konnte belegt werden, wie sich die Wanddekorationen und damit ein neuer, luxuriöser Wohngeschmack ab dem Ende der Republik ausbreiteten. Bei dekorierten Wänden ohne zentrale Mythenbilder bestand die Tendenz zu weiterer Verbreitung in immer breiteren Kreisen. Doch bei Einbeziehung der zentralen Mythenbilder ergibt sich eine klare Tendenz: Im Vierten Stil werden häufiger als vorher die größeren und reicheren Häuser mit zentralen Mythenbildern ausgestattet. Diese Entwicklung deutet auf eine Veränderung in der sozialen Schichtung der Stadt hin. Eine neue Schicht gewann an Einfluss, spätestens nach dem verheerenden Erdbeben des Jahres 62 n. Chr., bei dem viele neue Familien durch den Wiederaufbau wirtschaftlich profitierten und reich wurden. Das drückt sich ebenfalls aus in wenigen neuen, mythologischen Bildthemen mit einem Schwergewicht auf Erotik, die austauschbar werden und sich ständig stereotyp wiederholen.

Anmerkungen

1 Mielsch 1987; Brödner 1989; Zanker 1995; Tybout 2001 sowie Lorenz 2008. Im angelsächsischen Gebiet: Allison 1992; Riggsby 1997 und vor allem die Arbeiten von Andrew Wallace-Hadrill 1988-1997; weiter die beiden Symposien zur römischen Wohnkultur: E.K. Gazda (Hrsg.), *Roman Art in the Private Sphere. New Perspectives on the Architecture and Decor of the Domus, Villa, and Insula*, Ann Arbor 1991; R. Laurence/A. Wallace-Hadrill (Hrsg.), *Domestic Space in the Roman World: Pompeii and Beyond* (JRA Suppl. 22), Portsmouth 1997.

2 Zanker 1995, 208.

3 Zanker 1979, 522.

4 Richtungweisend sind die Untersuchungen von Wallace-Hadrill (1994), die er an Häusern aus den Regionen I und VI in Pompeji sowie an vier *insulae* aus Herculaneum vorgenommen hat.

5 Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 25.

6 Um das Areal zu vermessen, sind die Einzelpläne in *PPM* mit Hilfe eines Scanners für EDV erfasst worden; durch Vergleich mit dem Pompeji-Plan bei Eschebach wurde der Maßstab ermittelt. Die Grundrisse konnten anschließend mit Hilfe einer für Architekten entwickelten Software vermessen werden. Dabei haben sich, vor allem an den Rändern, geringfügige Verzerrungen nicht vermeiden lassen. Diese Verzerrungen in Verbindung mit den bei *PPM* kräftig eingezeichneten Gebäudemauern führen zu kleinen Unsicherheiten bei den Grundstücksgrößen, die jedoch im Einzelfall kaum mehr als drei Prozent betragen können, wie zahlreiche Nachmessungen ergeben haben.

7 Zum Einzelnachweis der Hausgrößen und Haustypen sowie dem Vorkommen von Wanddekorationen und zentralen Mythenbildern siehe Hodske 2007, Tabellen 2, 4 und 5 der dort beigefügten CD-ROM.

8 Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 72, 82-87.

9 Cic. *off*. 1.139; ders. *domo* 116; Sall. *Cat*. 12.3; Sen. *benef*. 7.10.5; ders. *epist*. 114.9.

10 Suet. *Aug*. 72.1.

11 Vitruv 6.5.1. Wenn im Folgenden vom *atrium* die Rede ist, so handelt es sich immer um das *atrium impluviatum* mit einer Dachöffnung, also einem *impluvium* und *compluvium*.

12 Gebäude mit öffentlicher, sakraler oder unbekannter Nutzung sowie mit unbekannter Größe bleiben bei den folgenden Vergleichen und Gegenüberstellungen ausgeklammert.

13 Die Staffelung der Gebäudegrößen basiert auf der Grundfläche der Wohnhäuser. Das arithmetische Mittel der Wohnhausflächen beträgt 435 qm, der Median liegt dagegen mit 355 qm niedriger, das heißt, dass die eine Hälfte der Wohnhäuser kleiner und die andere Hälfte größer ist als 355 qm. Vom Median leiten sich die im Diagramm 2 verwendeten Größenunterteilungen ab.

14 Vitruv 6.5.1.

15 Die Gesamtzahl der Gebäudetypen weicht von dem vorhergehenden Vergleich nach Hausgrößen geringfügig ab, da 92 Häuser nur angegraben und die Grundstücksgröße somit nicht ermittelt werden kann.

16 Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 72, 82-87.

17 Zanker 1995, 150.

18 Zanker 1995, 26.

[19] Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 164.
[20] Zanker 1995, 206-207.
[21] Neumeister 2005, 49-56.
[22] Hodske 2007, 96.
[23] Zanker 1995, 210.
[24] Diese Vorliebe für Knaben findet sich auch in der zeitgleichen Literatur. Trimalchio verdankte seinen Aufstieg seiner erotischen Attraktivität und musste seinem Herrn bis zum 14. Lebensjahr als *puer delicatus* zur Verfügung stehen (Petron. 75.11); Seneca in *Epist*. 95.15.24 sowie in *dial*. 10.12.5 erwähnt die Scharen von Lustknaben; Martial. 9.25 fragt, worin das Verbrechen bestünde, einen zarten Diener anzuschauen. Selbst Herakles erlaube doch, dass man seinen Hylas anschaue und mit Ganymedes zu scherzen, sei Merkur erlaubt; Plin. *nat*. 21.170 sowie 30.41 vermerkt, dass Sklavenhändler mit jungen und hübschen männlichen Sklaven hohe Preise erzielten, solange diesen noch nicht der Bart wuchs.
[25] Seiler 1992, 113.
[26] Ov. *met*. 2.843-868.
[27] Ov. *met*. 1.452-467.
[28] Maiuri 1942, 216-217.
[29] Castrén 1975, 105-107.
[30] J. von Ungern-Sternberg, Besprechung von Castrén, P., Ordo Populusque Pompeianus. Polity and Society in Roman Pompeii, *Gnomon* 51 (1979) 612-614; Mouritsen 1988, 114-117.
[31] Mouritsen 1988, 122.
[32] Zanker 1995, 206.
[33] Zum Reichtum der Freigelassenen Seneca *Ep*. 27.5; Plinius *Nat*. 33.134; Martial 5.13.6.
[34] Neumeister 2005, 53.

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Review Article: The Illustrated Papyrus from Turin

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Claudio Gallazzi, Bärbel Kramer, Salvatore Settis (eds), *Il Papiro di Artemidoro (P.Artemid.)*. Con la collaborazione di Gianfranco Adornato, Albio Cesare Cassio, Agostino Soldati. Milano: LED Edizioni Universitarie di Lettere Economia Diritto, 2008. 1 vol. text, 633 pp., ill. in text. 1 box with 4 facsimile photographs (color and black-and-white) of papyrus, vol. of 40 plates, cd rom; 36 cm. – ISBN 978-88-7916-380-4.

The exhibition at Turin of an illustrated Greek papyrus in 2006 has given the opportunity to take full notice of a spectacular illustrated papyrus (Gallazzi/Settis 2006). A brief article with some photographs published in 1989 (Gallazzi/Kramer 1989) and subsequent incomplete presentations had already caused discussions about the authenticity or falsity of this peculiar document, especially of the drawings: an almost complete book scroll is filled with drawings on recto and verso, aside and on the back of the first columns of a description of Spain that, itself, is illustrated by a map. It is only now that the *editio princeps* gives the full opportunity to study the document seriously, since this huge book (the height of which corresponds with the height of the scroll) gives an ample documentation. It would not have been offered for review to *BABESCH*, if there had not been the mentioned drawings on recto and verso. Let me present its contents in due order. First of all, it must be remarked that the contributions of each editor in this enormous project are seldom defined, like those of the collaborators mentioned on the frontispiece, but we may assume that the first two authors as graecists and papyrologists are responsible for the text edition, whereas Settis as art historian/archaeologist has concentrated on the ancient illustrations.

The papyrus scroll

The scroll, described in the first part (pp. 51-85), stems from Egypt and must have been bought in the first half of the 19th century by Sayid Khâshaba Pasha at Cairo as part of a papier maché convolute of papyri (other scraps, now in Milan, have not been studied yet, but are under review by some scholars), and came into the hands of Serop Simonian in 1971 in that shape. He gave opportunity to study it in 1998 to the two first editors and finally sold it in 2004 to the Fondazione per l'Arte della Compagnia di San Paolo at Turin. Nowadays this *P.Artemid*. is in the collection of the Museo Egizio at Turin. Three fragments are not fitting but belong to the same document, as they are of the same material, have texts and drawing made with the same ink and share the contents. On the basis of a ^{14}C analysis (explained at length for those who are not familiar with this technique) the scroll must be dated to 1950 ± 30 BP. The editors argue that this chronology can be refined to the first decades of the 1st century AD, e.g. thanks to the letter forms. The ink is of organic nature like all writing materials of ancient scrolls. On recto we see, from left to right, two drawings of heads, three columns of text, a map, two columns of texts, and some twenty drawings of hands, feet and heads; on verso there are some forty animals with Greek captions. Clearly, these things do not belong together. According to the editors, the text is the oldest element; the papyrus should be filled with maps and more columns, but the first map drawn was not completed for some unknown reason and the scroll finished somewhere in the workshop where this map had been made. Consequently, the verso was filled with the animals by one person and in the last moment the heads, hands and feet were added in an entirely different style by another draughtsman. This three-stage filling of the scroll encompassed a brief time, so that around the middle of the 1st century the scroll was 'completed'. These are the three lives of the title of the exhibition catalogue cited.

Artemidoros' *Geographoumena*

The second part (pp. 87-272) gives an introduction to the text, an edition, an Italian translation and a commentary. It comprises the first paragraphs of book II of the *Geographoumena* written by Artemidoros from Ephesos, who lived in the second half of the 2nd century BC. He is known

from various sources as an ambassador to Rome to plea for freedom of taxes in 104 BC and must have been a man of great eloquence. According to Strabo, he traveled extensively in the Mediterranean and on the Atlantic Ocean in a sort of *periplous* to investigate the coast. His work entitled *Geographoumena* is known thanks to some brief quotations and references in other sources, but this papyrus is the first to give a part of the hitherto unknown original text. In a preface Artemidoros tells how the geographer must use philosophy as a starting point for his work - no specific school is indicated or can be detected from these first two paragraphs -, after which he starts a description of the shores, rivers and mountains of Iberia. While the geographical part (columns IV-V) is a dry summing up of towns along the coast, at distances of x or y stadia, the language of the preface (columns I-II, probably the mutilated column III) is characterized by a 'stile … uno dei più ampollosi e pretensiosi che ci siano arrivati dall'antichità greca' (p. 134). It might be a product of the Asianic style, criticized by Cicero and others.

The edition of the text gives on the left pages the characters as seen, and on the right ones a transcription, with interspacing, punctuation and accents on the words. There is an Italian translation, but a reading text lacks; a word index is printed at the end of the book (pp. 619-626).

The extensive comment starts saying that previous interpretations and comments by the editors are superseded by this new edition. There are fine remarks on style and language, syntax, mythology, and, of course, geography. A historical map of ancient Spain, with the indication of the principal elements would have been helpful.

The map (part III, pp. 273-308) is not finished and shows double and single lines, mainly running from left to right and small vignettes indicating mountains, trees, singular monuments, villages and towns. The lack of the captions and colour marks increases the difficulty of interpretation. As a matter of fact, it cannot be determined which part of the peninsula is represented. It seems likely that the area of northern Spain, with the Ebro as the main river, is represented, with the north at the upper side, but the authors are very cautious. The data should refer to the early period of the Roman occupation, around 110-100 BC, when less was known than in the time of Augustus' administration after 27 BC. Presumably more maps were planned before column I and after column V. One would expect more or less the same system of notation as on the Peutinger Map (see a suggestive drawing of this document on p. 301, without texts), i.e. a geographical area, with rivers, roads, towns, villas and other monuments.

Animal drawings

The first post-scribal phase of the papyrus' use includes a set of drawings of animals on verso, all in the same style and by only one designer, who is also responsible for the Greek captions written in a lettering that is typical for the early 1st century AD (part IV, pp. 309-460). Thick greyish lines enhance the black-lined drawings and give relief and volume, e.g. in the ball-shaped moonfish V15 and in the wings of the griffin in V19. The editors distinguish 41 sets labeled V1-V41: 29 singles, eight doubles and one triple, one text and two unrecognizable elements. The numbering goes from left to right, viz. from fragment c to fragment a: c has V1-V32, b has V33, and a has V34-V41. Most animals are represented in profile to the right. All are wild or fantasy creatures; a natural environment is indicated by adding water, bushes of grass, rocks and the like. There is no uniform scale, so that we find big and small next to each other.

Text V30 runs: '[animals] that live in the sea, winged creatures, land creatures and sea monsters', which well corresponds with the species: eight fish, ten birds, 18 quadrupeds, two hybrids and two monsters (*kete*). This might be a sort of title: it is not on the spot of an *incipit*, but more or less in the central upper zone of the papyrus. One may even think of a frieze-like composition in which these animals have been brought together like that of the fish still-life in the upper zone of room e of the House of the Vettii in Pompeii. When we take into account the theme of the animals, the frieze in the tomb of Marisa is still more close in conception (cf. Jacobson 2005).

Some previous proposals about function and meaning are discarded and the editors conclude that the animals form together a sort of bestiary, not like those in the Middle Ages, but as a collection for painters or mosaic workers like a *Musterbuch* or pattern book. They refer to representations of animals with captions on the painted frieze from Marisa and the Nile mosaic at Palestrina, to name two examples only. The animals have nothing to do with the Spain described by Artemidoros: they stem either almost completely from Africa, the tiger V31 being the only Asian creature, or are fantastic beasts. The depiction of the animals is rather fantastic of nature: hardly one figure convinces for its anatomic exactitude. See the giraffe V21(*kamelopordalis*), with its strange back and legs.

Fig. 1. P.Artemid., *drawing of a foot R 13 (from Gallazzi/Kramer/Settis, facsimile verso).*

Fig. 2. Limestone model of a foot, inv. 7858, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum, (photo museum).

Many names seem to refer to specific characteristics like the hare fish V5 (*lagōs*), the saw fish V10 (*prion*) etc. The *stymphalis* V7 is the mythical Stymphalic bird.

The commentary is very learned and dense, showing a masterly knowledge of sources and a good skill for suggesting solutions. The following remarks refer to the labels. V1 and V2 form a pair of two identical hyenas looking at each other, standing at short distance in comparison to other single animals. One might even think of variations of the same beast. The griffin fighting with a leopard V19 stands out for the beautiful rendition. In the transcription of the figure and the comment an element which is clearly recognizable on the infrared photos lacks: a sort of cylinder with a bush of weed under V18 must belong to the fight's setting and represents the nest of the feline who loses its cub. The same is true for V13, a sort of pheasant, where a U-shaped form appears under its feet. I would combine V23, a blind rat or log, with the gazelle V24, since there is little space between them; they look at each other (the gazelle has its head bent downwards) and have grass under their feet. V25 shows a unique motif in the arts, the fight between a leopard or panther and a snake. The snake has a beard, like the Hellenistic Agathodaimon and the snakes of Pompeian lararia, so that it does not form a real species; the landscape is worked out in some detail. V28, the 'animal like/with a shard' (*ostrakeus*), is seen as a sort of lobster, but I think it represents a bird, with tiny legs and a large beak with which a fish is swallowed. The body has nuances of feathers. Then the name could refer to the feathers' brick-red colour and not to the shell-like skin of the lobster. The bird would make a good pair with V28. This is another bird that looks at him and apparently did not succeed in grasping the fish. Moreover, the two are opposite each other. V31 and V32 are on the right margin of this fragment c of the papyrus and I would have turned the sequence, for the normal order is from top to bottom: the greater flamingo V32 would be V31 and tiger V31, instead, V32. This feline jumps to the right, where a large lacuna could have contained its prey. Part of the environment is V33, on fragment b of the papyrus. Fragment a, finally, starts with V34, small part of an animal and finishes with the pelican V41.

Heads, hands and feet

In part V (pp. 461-578) Gianfranco Adornato discusses the images on recto. It contains at the left hand side of text column I two male bearded heads, whereas the right part is filled with hands, feet and four more heads. In a longish reasoning all hands and feet are attributed to one designer, who seems also responsible for heads R2 and R19-R21, whereas the heads R1 and R23 would be by a different drawer. However, these two heads singled out are shown frontally, which makes them different from those in profile, and I fail to see substantial differences, for which one single maker of all drawings is more likely. The style differs from that of the animals.

Adornato observes that the rendering of the anatomical pieces is typical for three-dimensional objects, viz. sculpture. He tries to define sources of the gestures of the hands and feet as well as their gender and even seeks to attribute them to prototypes of determined statues, as if the draughtsman had an entire museum of models in front of him, a thing denied before - and deservedly so. More-

over, the eclecticism correctly observed in various objects (e.g. R20 and R23) must make him and us cautious to search one single source. So, the interpretation of head R1 as a portrait of Metrodoros (or a 'similar' Epicurean) is too far-reaching: the head is much younger and has a broader face than sculpted portraits of this and comparable philosophers. I am not sure about the interpretation of head R21 as a Medusa or Harpy. The monster-like gaze can be one of concentration like in R2 and its sex might be male (cf. counterpart R20).

The feet finish above the ankles in the shape of disk-like toppings (*fig. 1*): this would suggest the use of small stone anatomic models known for Egypt like a foot in Amsterdam (*fig. 2*; Moormann 2000, 198 cat. 270, pl. 93; ibid. 187-192 on armour models). Interestingly, the hands lack that disk. The puzzling image R9 (something with drapery) is seen as a foot, but I see more or less the same as R10, the back of a hand peeping out of drapery. The beard of R19 is compared to various bearded men, but the wild character resembles that of the Porticello head mentioned in passing only.

P.Artemid. in context

The finale is Settis' essay about the papyrus' importance for ancient art history (pp. 579-616). He starts with a circumstantial discussion about the art of drawing in antiquity, standing on the sources, and gives an impressive overview of what we know - which is little - on the technique of line drawing and colouring as well on monochromes. Artists like Apelles and Pausias are singled out for their skill in this field. As he makes clear, the long list of papyri with illustrations unfortunately is of little help for his work. Although the drawings on the papyrus have no outstanding artistic quality, they are important for their variety, quantity and formats. They offer many aspects we miss in illustrated manuscripts hitherto known and that still need more study (see i.a. Gallazzi/Settis 2006 and Froschauer 2009). Settis summarises and re-epilogues the observations about the map, the animals and the anatomical elements. The animals are, he concludes, not that of a *Musterbuch*, but of a workshop sketchbook, used for making mosaics or paintings: *libro di bottega* (p. 613). The heads, feet and hands are *disiecta membra*, stemming from sculptural sources, mostly classical and copied from plaster casts.

Fig. 3. Herculaneum: painting on marble representing kottabos*-playing daughters of Niobe, now Naples, Museo Nazionale, inv. 9562 (photo DAI Rome).*

Fig. 4. Pompeii, House of Ceres, cubiculum *k, south wall: drawings under a Second-Style painting (photo S.T.A.M. Mols).*

Figs 5a-b. Rome, Columbarium Doria Pamphilj, Wall B, mix of painting and drawing; now in Palazzo Massimo, Rome (photos S.T.A.M. Mols).

Some small points may be made. First of all, it strikes that the entire papyrus is Greek in all senses: text, names of animals, anatomic parts - no things Egyptian are recognizable apart from the animals themselves that stem from the area south of Upper Egypt and are like the bestiary shown on the afore-mentioned Nile mosaic of Palestrina (cf. the extensive discussion in Meyboom 1995). That means, as to the last category, that the designers used Greco-Roman models, available during their life-time in Egypt. The sculptures are not necessarily master works of the past, but may be products of the eclecticism that reigned in the early Empire. I repeat the suggestion that the feet may follow small models in stone. Adornato and Settis are cautious in using contemporary Roman wall painting, which is correct when they look for the manner of drawing. However, something can be learned from what we have in painting. The short reference to the late-Hellenistic monochrome marble paintings from Herculaneum could be elaborated upon: the rendering of the hair and beards of the centaurs and the hair of the playing girls is comparable to the drawings (*fig. 3*). Moreover, a study of the monochrome wall decorations of the late Second and the early Third Style might give clues for the rendition of several details. Regarding the heads, we find there many parallels in that single busts, in profile and frontal, are inserted in wall decorations as decorative elements. The fragment of a Medusa from Herculaneum quoted *ad* R21 (p. 569, fig. 5.42; see supra) stems from a Second-Style decoration in the atrium or surroundings of the Villa of the Papyri and has several counterparts (Moormann 1984). There, like in other complexes, monochrome illustrations of landscapes and the like were found as well, which, certainly, do not offer direct parallels, but can be studied in the way Settis does as to drawing technique. Among drawings to be quoted are Second-Style preparatory drawings, like that on a fragment of a wall decoration from Oplontis showing an image of an architectural scheme or those in *cubiculum* k of the House of Ceres at Pompeii, with a large Corinthian capital and warriors striding to the right (*fig. 4*; cf. *Pompei. Pitture e mosaici* II, Rome 1990, 222-223). On monochromes in wall decoration there is some scholarly literature that may be of relevance in a further study of the drawings (Thomas 1997; Santoro 2007). Finally, as to the hatching, I recall a curious mix of painting and drawing in the large Columbarium of the Villa Doria Pamphilj of the early 1st century AD, showing Herakles freeing Prometheus and the slaughter of the Niobids: the landscape elements are rendered in grey lines with hatchings like those in the animal depictions on verso (*fig. 5*; see Caruso 2008, 38-39). We can conclude that, even if painting is not the first form of art to compare with, it has several elements that are useful for a better understanding of these drawings.

False or genuine?

It is no wonder that this curious, hitherto unique document has provoked a hot debate concerning its genuineness, but strikingly this debate confines itself almost entirely to Italy. Especially Luciano Canfora has raised doubts (ultimately Canfora 2008 and 2009a (*non vidi*) and 2009b) and suggests that it is the product of the 19th-century forger Constantinos Simonides. This man would have based his creation on other ancient texts about geography. Besides, Artemidoros would not be the matter at all: if any ancient writer, the late-antique Marcianus would be a better candidate. But then the question rises: why did Simonides forge a curious document and arrange it in an unattractive ball of paper that apparently remained unopened until recently? Why do we not read about the discovery of this spectacular (now fake) papyrus in publications of those days and would Simonides' efforts have remained in the dark for some 150 years? It really would have been an enormous job to counterfeit such a complicated and indeed enigmatic document.

According to Canfora, the linguistic discrepancy between the high style of the preface and the simple down-to-earth description of Spain in the *Geographoumena* are suspect as well. As to this point, I think that we must be cautious: technical treatises often have different style registers in introduction and main text; see, for instance the prefaces in all books of Vitruvius' *De architectura* and that of Pliny the Elder for his *Naturalis Historia*. That Strabo fails to refer to it, as Canfora argues, is not a reason to dismiss the document as a fake: Strabo does not copy or summarise Artemidoros' texts. The presence of several new words in the papyrus does not have to cause doubts either: one of the attractions of papyrology (and epigraphy) is the almost daily discovery of new *hapax legomena* or the addition of examples to *hapax legomena* of old, so that a word is no *hapax* any longer.

As to the drawings, neither Canfora nor his colleagues have proposed alternative solutions for the drawings like Canfora's argumentations about the text. They decide neither to ascribe the drawings to precise sources nor to date them, even if they add photographs of Renaissance paintings that show some similarities regarding the fingers and the pose of the hands on recto. The art historian Maurizio Calvesi (2008) supports Canfora by praising him as a scholar 'di magistrale respiro' and characterising Settis as a randomly scholar-politician, all this in his own periodical. Regarding the map he quotes the seventeenth-century Jesuit scholar Athanasius Kircher as a possible source, whereas for the heads on recto Dürer is put forward. He admits that for the other anatomical figures and the animals no similar easily retraceable sources can be put next to the papyrus' drawings. Calvesi's suggestions will not substantiate his friend's attribution to Simonides who would have enhanced Greek pride and made the understanding more difficult by inserting things Calvesi does not understand. Finally, Calvesi dismisses the reliability of archaeometry, a sort of science that helps us enormously and cannot be put aside so easily.

Canfora and Calvesi did not yet know the *editio princeps* with the technical analysis, but even without that their reasoning is rather *ad hominem* instead of based on substantial evidence (see now Canfora 2009b). To be sure, some problems addressed by these critics are no longer found in this final edition that must form the starting point for further debates. In the technical section, the editors take up a stand against Canfora, and do that, like the polemical scholar from Bari, in harsh words (pp. 56-60: e.g. 'maliziosamente' on p. 59). Some details could not have been known to Simonides and the chemical analysis demonstrates that the three bits of papyrus belong together. As far as I can see, the archaeometrical tests of the papyrus are on their side. The criticism is about a document that has no equal within the dossier of Greco-Roman papyri and artistic expressions and the debate is partly - first of all, I think - influenced by this aporia. To say it with a German dictum: 'dies hat es nie gegeben, so kann es nicht wahr sein.' And as I said, the discussion about the forgery is limited to two camps of Italian scholars only that smacks of personal conflicts caused by jealousy or antipathies (see also Settis 2008, 123-124, referring to further polemics).[1]

Personally, I fail to see why Artemidoros cannot have been the author of the text written on this papyrus by a scribe of the Augustan era and anonymous people from some time later the makers of two sets of drawings. An argument in favour of a genuine papyrus is the fact that the map is a draft only, showing no more than an unattractive set of lines and tokens.

The editors of this splendid papyrus could perhaps have been still more outspoken about the pedigree of the manuscript than they are in the few pages summarized here. They also could have been less on the defensive and be more confident. To start from the idea that they have to begin with a sort of *oratio pro domo* rather weakens the results they present.

Round tables at Bologna in June and Oxford in September 2007 have been followed by exhibitions and round tables in Berlin and Munich as well as a day of study in Settis' Scuola normale superiore at Pisa in November 2008 on the linguistic and philosophical aspects of Artemidoros' text. Undoubtedly there will be more workshops on related topics like the figures. Whether the solution of this enigma will come from the discussions here, is expected with great eager.

Note

[1] But see now the negative review of R. Janko, *CLR* 59 (2009) 403-410, and the positive evaluations of B. Bravo, *ZPE* 170 (2009) 43-63, and I. Pajón, ibid. 64.

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Reviews

VAN DE PUT, W.D.J., *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum. The Netherlands,* fascicule 9*, Allard Pierson Museum, University of Amsterdam,* fascicule 3*. Black-Figure. Pattern and Six Technique Lekythoi*. Amsterdam: Allard Pierson Series, 2006. XI+72 pp., 46 profiles, 40 pls; 32.5 cm. – ISBN 978-90-71211-38-6.

VAN DE PUT, W.D.J., *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum. The Netherlands,* fascicule 10*, Allard Pierson Museum, University of Amsterdam,* fascicule 4*. Red-Figure and White-Ground Lekythoi*. Amsterdam: Allard Pierson Series, 2006. XII+94 pp., 48 profiles, 7 figs, 39 pls; 32.5 cm. – ISBN 978-90-71211-39-3.

W.D.J. van de Put (henceforth vdP) is the author of two fascicles of the *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* series from the Allard Pierson Museum. In the first volume, vdP introduces 50 lekythoi of which 39 are black-figure, nine pattern, and three decorated in the Six technique. The red-figure and white-ground lekythoi are presented separately in the second volume, while South Italian lekythoi will be discussed in a forthcoming publication.

Among the positive features of these two volumes is a consistent effort to provide full-scale illustrations of every object, or at least its figural decoration. Quite significant is the substitution of the traditional profile drawings with CT scans. Even though the digital images are poor in some instances, CT scanning does reveal information about the construction and history of vases that would have been impossible to obtain otherwise, especially in the case of closed shapes such as lekythoi. Regarding the red-figure lekythoi, the author has included figures with preliminary drawings of vases that often shed light on the figural scenes. Another useful feature is the addition of numbers from the Beazley Archive Database that correspond to each vase.

In both fascicles, the entries comprise a short introduction to the specific lekythos-shape and the history of research. Then follow the vase's record, an outline of its condition and the state of applied paint (slip may be a more preferable word), and a description of its decoration. Date and attribution precede the commentary, which varies in length depending on issues raised by the author. vdP discusses each lekythos with clarity and precision, and provides parallels for shape and decoration, as well as bibliographical references.

In the first volume, 22 lekythoi have an unknown provenance, while 28 originate from Greece (mainly Athens), eight from South Italy, and three from Sicily. 19 lekythoi are published here for the first time, while vdP makes 21 new attributions, increasing in particular the corpus of Haimonian lekythoi and those of the Beldam workshop. He also ascribes one lekythos to the Diosphos Potter (IN 568, pls 165, 166.7).

vdP begins his examination with an early black-figure lekythos of the Sub-Deianera shape (IN 8589, pl. 144), which is interesting both for its subject matter (a solitary reclining male figure), and for its association with the Euboean black-figure ware. The style is reminiscent of the Corinthian column krater of Eurytos (Louvre E 635), but its compositional details are closer to later scenes of Herakles as a symposiast, e.g., the bilingual amphora by the Andokides Painter in Munich (Antikensammlung 2301, ARV^2 4.9; 1617), and especially the bell krater by the Berlin Painter in the Louvre (G174, ARV^2 205.123). In this light, one wonders whether the Amsterdam krater represents Herakles at banquet, and whether the suspended 'mantle' is in fact an arbitrarily rendered lion skin.

Turning to shoulder-lekythoi, one may single out lekythos IN 14335 (pls. 148.1-4) for its particular floral ornament, which is so far without parallels. Regarding the lekythos attributed to the Gela Painter (IN 3731, pls 154,1 and 4, 155), vdP provides an adequate description of the *palaestra* scene, but fails to mention details such as the two right hands of the discus thrower. Also, the 'provincial character' of the Gela Painter has little to do with the presence of the *auletes* in the scene; treating the episode as a snapshot of an actual game ignores the blending of time and space in vase-painting. In the same entry, vdP touches upon the topic of the *gymnasion*, although without making a clear distinction between the institution and building.

For the lekythoi of the Class of Athens 581, vdP provides a short introduction highlighting the presence of this type in the Marathon tumulus and their usefulness as dating tools. He discusses the iconography of eight such lekythoi and comments on some interesting features, such as the rare occurrence of a maenad on a mule (IN 8531, pls 158, 163.1). However, the description of lekythos IN 10466/1 (pls. 162.4-6 and 163.7) is insufficient: the pillar-like object executed in thinner glaze below the horses' bodies is not a tree-trunk, but rather a turning point. This interpretation explains the lack of *isokephalia* of the teams of horses: the inner group closer to the pillar has already started to turn, while the outer-one has to cover more distance.

Especially interesting are three lekythoi by the Athena Painter that show respectively Achilles ambushing Polyxena, a bust of Athena flanked by two owls, and two elderly men and a siren (IN 3737, pls 167.3 & 4, 169; IN 3754, pls 167.2, 170.1-3 & 5; IN 8977, pls 167.1, 168, 170.4). Ten black-figure lekythoi have been attributed to the Haimon Group, the Pholos Painter and the Emporion Painter, but, unfortunately, there is no illustration of the Haimonian lekythos IN RALS 575 (the reference number 172.8 does not correspond to any plate). vdP's overview of the development of the Pattern lekythoi is a useful prologue to the discussion of the nine such lekythoi in the Allard Pierson Collection. Lastly, the presentation of three lekythoi in the Six-technique (IN 992, 1357, 9038; pls 182-3) is quite eloquent, except for a misspelling of the word *tetrhippon* as tetrippon throughout the entry, and a poor illustration of one of the vases.

In the second fascicle, vdP treats 71 red-figure and white-ground lekythoi. Out of these, 45 have an unknown provenance, 19 come from Greece (Athens, Attica, and

Eretria), four from South Italy and Sicily, and three from Kerch. He also discusses 31 previously unpublished vases and makes 26 new attributions that are on the whole convincing (e.g. IN 6337, pl. 187, fig. 3 attributed to the Nikon Painter; IN B 6024, pl. 210.1-3 attributed to the Tymbos Painter).

Starting with the red-figure cylindrical lekythoi of the Sub-Archaic and Early Classical period, vdP provides more information than a simple description and a commentary, often raising questions on the trade and diffusion of vases (e.g., lekythos from Gela IN 184, pl. 184). After a good synopsis of the emergence of specialization, vdP examines lekythoi produced by specific workshops, such as the Providence Painter, the Bowdoin Painter and others. He shows caution while dealing with ambiguous iconographic subjects, e.g. the questionable identification of the bearded male figure with a staff as a king (IN 698, pl. 185.4-5, 186.2, figs 1-2), but he also stresses the difficulty in identifying a painter's hand on works such as the lekythos IN 9710 (pls 189.3-4, 190.1, 192.1), as neither the circle of the Providence Painter nor the Bowdoin Painter seem to match the style and subject of the vase. As a result, his attribution of lekythos IN 6337 (pl. 187, fig. 3) to the Nikon Painter is well-researched and soundly based, making a significant addition of a rather rare athletic theme to the painter's oeuvre.

With regard to the Icarus Painter, vdP points out that the subject of lekythos IN 2838 (pl. 193.1-3), which shows a Nike filling a hydria at a fountain, is a unicum for the painter. At the same time, he raises the question of provenance, as the same lekythos also appears to be present in the catalogues of the Empedokles Collection, now at the National Museum at Athens. A second lekythos attributed to the Icarus Painter (B 8735, pl. 193.4-6) has a rather unusual motif of reserved zigzags, which could have been given a more full treatment. On the other hand, vdP and his collaborators are to be complimented for the drawings of preliminary sketches, such as of lekythos IN 6251 (pl. 196, fig. 5), which carries an inscription praising the beauty of the Nike. Despite the mediocre quality of most vases, certain lekythoi present interesting iconographic themes, especially scenes with women working wool like the fragmentary lekythos attributed to the Late Manner of Douris/ Compare Villa Giulia Painter (IN 3485, pl. 197.3, fig. 6).

In the second section of this volume vdP examines the squat lekythoi of the Classical period. The author rightly points out the frequent presence of busts and heads on these lekythoi, which he argues were based on Boeotian and Apulian prototypes. In the case of the lekythos by the Phiale Painter (IN 6256, pl. 201.3-4 & 6), one should consider the identification of the bust of a woman holding two torches with Artemis.

Non-specialists will find vdP's overview of the development of lekythoi in the late 5th to early 4th century particularly helpful, as well as the impact of the Meidias Painter in Late Classical iconography. However, the three squat lekythoi by the circle of the Mina Painter (IN 10, 733, 9813, pl. 204) will be of interest to the more advanced reader, because of their animal decoration and issues related to the diffusion of the painter's work. Also, Late-Classical lekythoi with wedding scenes carry some fascinating details for the scholars of iconography. For example, lekythos IN 6255 (pl. 206.1-7) shows a bride's attendant with striking long wavy hair and eastern-looking garments, while another lekythos (IN 3506, pl. 207 - plate reference omitted in the entry) represents two Erotes pulling Aphrodite's chariot above waves in a very lively manner.

vdP concludes this section with a discussion of two Boeotian squat lekythoi, followed by an examination of 14 white-ground lekythoi; the most spectacular is the *prothesis* lekythos by the Sabouroff Painter (IN 567, pls 211.1 and 212). Finally, a significant contribution of this volume is the thorough discussion of five extensively restored, forged and overpainted white-ground lekythoi. vdP provides ample illustrations for all these artifacts, and detailed arguments for their dis-authentication.

Both *CVA* volumes include indices on subjects, painters and inventory numbers. One thing lacking here is an index on provenance, which would have been useful for the reader. vdP produced two well-researched publications that are almost free of errors. While they adhere to the tradition of *CVA* catalogues, at the same time they highlight issues of contemporary research interests, utilizing features of modern technology. They are a welcome addition to the *CVA* series and a useful tool for archaeologists and scholars of Attic vases.

Amalia Avramidou

BORGERS, O.E./H.A.G. BRIJDER, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum. The Netherlands,* fascicule 11*, Allard Pierson Museum, University of Amsterdam,* fascicule 5*. Attic Black-Figure Amphorae, Pelikai, Kraters, Hydriai, Olpai, Oinochoai and Tripod Kothon*. Amsterdam: Allard Pierson Stichting, 2007. XII+86 pp., 45 figs, 64 pls; 32 cm. – ISBN 978-90-71211-42-3.

O.E. Borgers and H.A.G. Brijder (henceforth B&B) have co-authored the *CVA* fascicle on the Attic Black-Figure pottery from the Allard Pierson Museum. Although the state of preservation and the quality of the material varies from case to case, there is a wide spectrum of shapes here, mainly of closed vessels, such as amphorae (e.g. panel, 'Tyrrhenian', neck, Panathenaic), pelikai, kraters, hydriai, olpai/oinochoai, and a tripod kothon. All vases are accompanied by illustrations, profile drawings, or in some instances CT scans. Drawings of inscriptions and graffiti are provided when applicable, but non-sensical inscriptions are usually not transliterated (e.g. neck-amphora from the Leagros Group, pl. 256.3).

The Catalogue is arranged according to shapes and in relation to groups of painters and potters, while each entry includes detailed information about the vase, a concise commentary, and selected bibliography. It is worth noting that 48 vases are published here for the first time, while 12 vases that first appeared in *CVA* Scheurleer 1 and 2 are presented again in this volume. Unfortunately, there are no corresponding reference numbers to the Beazley Archive Database for the entries of this fascicle. Even though the provenance of most vases is usually unknown (38), several of them originate from South Italy (33), especially Taranto and Cumae. Fewer vases come from Greece (18), mainly Athens and Attica, and even less from Etruria (3).

The first vase discussed by B&B is an intriguing panel amphora (type B) dating to the middle of the 6th century BC (IN 8561, pls 223-224). Due to its decoration (flying eagle on each panel, base-rays, tongues), the amphora was originally considered to be Corinthian, but the authors argue for an Attic provenance on account of the orange core of its clay. Even more puzzling is the peculiar size and number of the tongues decorating the neck, a feature that recalls Caeretan hydriai rather than Corinthian or Attic motifs. In my opinion this hints at a Ionian tradition.

Equally interesting is the white-ground 'amphora of special shape' from Athens (IN 6268, pls 227-228), which dates around 520 BC and depicts Dionysos on one side and Ajax carrying Achilles on the other. In view of its extraordinary shape (a mixture of an amphora and an olpe), B&B should have elaborated further on its innovative character and particularly the use of a new technique (white-ground) to represent a rather unusual subject (a solitary Dionysos). In the reviewer's opinion, the combination of a special technique with a special shape may be associated with the experimental workshop of Exekias.

Another vase that can be singled out is the neck amphora by the Painter of Vatican 309 (IN 3374, pls 232-234), which carries a graffito (AA) and a red dipinto on the underside of its foot. B&B point out that almost half of the vases incised with this graffito are attributed to the Painter of Vatican 309 and the Circle of Lydos, while the additional dipinto on the Amsterdam amphora may indicate a second merchant. Regarding this final point, I should add that the dipinto might also represent a monetary value or the owner's initials.

B&B make important observations regarding a challenging amphoriskos/lekythos associated with both Attic and Euboean workshops (IN 589, pl. 246) and the rather rare white-ground amphora hitherto unpublished (private collection, pls 243-244). Thanks to B&B's attributions, the oeuvre of the Antimenes Painter was enriched with the previously unpublished fragment of an amphora from the Athenian Acropolis (IN 2109, pl. 254.6) and three more amphorae fragments from Taranto (IN 2155, 2104, RALS 533; pls 255.5-7). They also ascribed the fragment of a Panathenaic amphora to a painter close to the Kleophrades Painter (IN 9646, pl. 250.4).

Turning to pelikai, the most significant entry in B&B's catalogue is the late 6th-century pelike by the Manner of the Acheloos Painter (private collection, pls 259-260). It depicts two komos scenes and has on the underside of the foot a graffito: ΤΕΣΣΑΡΕΣΟΒΕΛΟΣ. B&B stress the inconsistency of the singular use of ΟΒΕΛΟΣ following number four, but one wonders whether this is a shortened accusative plural instead.

Regarding the kraters, B&B publish 17 new examples, comprising of column- (7), volute- (7) and calyx kraters (3), and offer new attributions, e.g. Related to Lydos (IN 2098, pl. 266.1), the Chiusi Painter (IN B 14.408, pl. 266.3). For the Golvol Group fragments (IN 2117 and 2118, pls 268.5, 269.1), the authors claim that they cannot belong to the same volute krater, because their estimated diameters differ considerably. Even though the profile drawings illustrate this divergence, in the catalogue entries the estimated diameter of both vases turns out to be identical (37 cm), which causes some confusion for the reader.

Of the three hydriai examined by B&B, two are published here for the first time (IN 11.644, pl. 270.1-4; IN 2053.4, pl. 270.5), while from the group of olpai and oinochoai one may distinguish the red-colored oinochoe depicting an Amazon (IN 1730, pls 276.2, 277) and the trefoil oinochoe by the Gela Painter representing satyrs treading grapes (IN 3742, pls 278, 280.1). The single tripod kothon included in this fascicle is attributed to the Polos Painter and is of mediocre quality (IN 1942, pls 283-286).

The volume concludes with four indices on concordances, subjects, and painters. It would have been useful to add an index on the findspots, and even attempt a cross-listing of shapes, findspots, and acquisition records to reconstruct potential assemblages, especially in the case of vases originating from Taranto that were purchased around the same period from the same dealer. Overall, B&B offer a thorough examination of Attic black-figure vases with solid documentation, ample commentary, and good illustrations. Their work is an important contribution to the study of Attic vases that will be of assistance to both archaeologists, ancient art historians and advanced students.

Amalia Avramidou

GUNTRAM KOCH/KLAUS FITTSCHEN/ORTWIN DALLY (eds), *Akten des Symposiums des Sarkophag-Corpus 2001, Marburg 2001*. Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2007. XII+354 pp., 32 figs, 120 pls; 29 cm (Sarkophag-Studien 3). – ISBN 978-3-8053-3501-0.

This volume contains the proceedings of the symposium on sarcophagi held in Marburg in 2001. As with the previous volumes in this series, it is geared toward and will appeal primarily to a specialist audience. That said, there are several interpretive and synthetic papers which deserve a wider readership. I will summarize the volume's contents first before moving to a larger issue that is raised by its (delayed) publication.

The volume is organized largely according to region, so that it begins with papers on sarcophagi from Rome and then turns outward to the provinces. (The table of contents unhelpfully lists the papers in alphabetical order by author and not according to their actual order in the volume.) The first contribution, by R. Amedick, is one of the volume's most important: a long-overdue study of the relationship between Etruscan funerary art and the designs of early Roman sarcophagi. Surveying mythological themes, Galatomachies, and scenes of magistrates, her study engages the Etruscan imagery (and its influential Hellenistic forerunners) as not merely epiphenomenal, but as crucial to understanding the development of sarcophagus iconography in the 2nd century BCE.

The papers that follow are concerned with collections - both large and small - of (mostly) metropolitan works, including the fragments of a lion sarcophagus (M. Fuchs); a new, strigillated example in Warsaw (T. Mikocki and J. Zelazowski); various works in Viterbo, including an Endymion sarcophagus (G. Vatta); fragments in Brescia (F. Morandini); a Muse sarcophagus in Murcia (Spain),

which has enjoyed a busy afterlife (J.M. Noguera); a Dionysiac Erotes sarcophagus in Berlin, with extended discussion of its symbolism (E. Heidebroek-Söldner); various works of Attic type preserved in Grottaferrata (A. Ambrogi); and two papers on sarcophagi now at the Museo Nazionale Romano, including various fragments of mythological scenes (P. Baldassari) and unpublished and new acquisitions with decorative and mythological imagery (M. Sapelli). The next three papers tackle iconography: the story of Achilles on Skyros (C.G. Alexandrescu), Herakles in Roman funerary art (D. Grassinger), and Leda and the swan (E. Angelicoussi). The two contributions that follow are concerned with modern interventions: the first on a restored Persephone sarcophagus in Aachen (T.-M. Schmidt), the other on a modern copy of a Meleager sarcophagus (J.H. Oakley).

The collection then shifts focus to the other major centers of production, principally Athens and Asia Minor. These include contributions on sarcophagi in the Athens National Museum (S.E. Katakis); unpublished and little-known Attic works in Arles (V. Gaggadis-Robin); fragments from northern Italy with Attic connections (F. Ciliberto); new Attic sarcophagi fragments from Dalmatia (N. Cambi); a work from Tyros (C. Kintrup); an Erotes sarcophagus (E. Papagianni) and two reunited fragments of an Attic sarcophagus (M. Tsimpidou-Avloniti), all in Thessaloniki. Four papers on Spanish material come next: a preliminary study of the Iberian corpus (M. Claveria); a Christian sarcophagus with scene of Susanna in Gerona (I. Rodà); a study of north-eastern production (S.B. Alvarez); and decorative works with pagan themes (J. Beltrán Fortes).

These are followed by contributions on the themes and workshops of sarcophagi produced in Roman Africa (F. Baratte); the ossilegium and ossuaries as Jewish burial practice (G. Foerster); sarcophagi from Moesia inferior, with a focus on a work with Herakles (S. Conrad); examples of the Kline type in Thessaloniki (T. Stefanidou-Tiveriou); two newly-discovered finds of a Palmyrene type (A. Schmidt-Colinet and K. al-As'ad); the centers of production of garland sarcophagi from Asia Minor (F. Işik); various examples from Pisidia (V. Köse), Baalbek (K. Hitzl and L. Petersen), and Tyana (D. Berges); and two new garland sarcophagi from Ephesos (B. Tuluk) and garlanded grave altars in Pamphylia and Lycia (T. Korkut). The collection ends with two notable papers: the first on the *ostothekai* of Ephesos and the rise of sarcophagus inhumation, which - unusual for a volume of this kind - situates the material in the social historical context of local freedmen there (C.M. Thomas and C. Içten); the second, a typically learned piece by the late Hellmut Sichtermann, on the literary reception of sarcophagi. (As noted at the beginning of the volume, the field has suffered a terrible loss with his death and that of Helga Herdejürgen.) A list of abbreviated works appears at the end, followed by 120 (!) high-quality black and white plates. Line-drawings and Renaissance sketches appear scattered throughout the volume.

A closing point concerns the *Sarkophag-Akten*, of which this volume is the latest installment. Conference proceedings can be notoriously difficult to bring to press in a timely manner, and this volume's appearance six years after the symposium's convening reflects that unfortunate reality. This is not to disparage the overall high quality of the publication itself, which bears all of the trademark features that scholars have come to expect of sarcophagus-related publications overseen by their longtime editor, Guntram Koch: meticulous editing, encyclopedic references, and crisp black-and-white photographs. Rather, my concern is that this series is not sustainable in its present, bulky print form. For in this digital age, it makes little sense to allow six years to elapse between a conference and its publication when the results - which are so heterogenous and documentary in nature - could be more efficiently made available online. A forum to service this need has been anticipated already by the creation of the 'Webpräsenz des Corpus der Antiken Sarkophage', an evolving, cooperative project sponsored by the DAI and the Forschungsarchiv für Antike Plastik, Cologne (http://www.arachne.uni-koeln.de). My suggestion, then, is that we expand upon this resource still further and in future post the bulk of the proceedings of the *Akten* on the 'Webpräsenz', which bears the imprint of two of Classical Archaeology's most venerable institutions. Thematic studies of sarcophagi might still find publication through traditional channels (e.g. J. Elsner and J. Huskinson, eds, 'Life, Death and Representation: New Work on Roman Sarcophagi', *Millennium*, forthcoming). But at the very least, this would spare the majority of participants the disservice of a long wait for the publication of their research and, at the same time, make it readily available and easily accessible to others in the field and - ideally - beyond.

Sinclair Bell

BÉATRICE BLANDIN, *Les pratiques funéraires d'époque géométrique à Erétrie. Espace des vivants, demeures des morts*. Gollion: Ecole Suisse d'Archéologie en Grèce/Infolio éditions, 2007. Vol. I (text): 183 pp.; vol. II (catalogue, tables, plates): 133 pp., 216 pls; paperback, 22 x 30 cm (Eretria XVII, Fouilles et recherches). – ISBN 978-2-88474-406-5.

Eretria holds a special place within the archaeology of the Greek Early Iron Age. Both archaeological and historical sources indicate that Eretria was one of the leading political and cultural centres of its time. Probably founded *ex novo* in the 9th century, it has yielded a wealth of archaeological documentation dating to its earliest history. This documentation represents the domestic, 'industrial', funerary and cultic spheres; the last includes the earliest monumental 'urban' temple in the Greek world. These circumstances have made Eretria a rare example of a site that allows us to follow closely processes of settlement organization and polis formation during this formative period in ancient Greek history. Somewhat on the negative side is the often fragmented state of the archaeological information. Since the 1960s, investigations by both the Swiss School of Archaeology and the Greek Archaeological Service have intensified, but due to the later occupation - including the modern town that partly overlies the site - and the present water table, the earliest levels are not always accessible or well preserved. Part of Eretria's early history came to light in rescue excavations that were carried out at

various spots in the ancient town; this - and the fact that excavation reports are scattered over a wide array of publications - has further contributed to the fragmentation of our picture of early Eretria. For this reason alone, Béatrice Blandin's monograph on the funerary practices at Eretria during the Geometric period (900-700 BC) is more than welcome. This study - which originates in the author's doctoral thesis - brings together and analyses information from tombs that since the late 19th century have been dug by both Swiss and Greek excavators. At the same time, B. explicitly seeks to confront her analyses of these data with wider spatial and social issues, such as topography, site development, use of space, and social structures developing within the context of the incipient polis.

B.'s argumentation is organized as follows. Volume I is dedicated to the analysis and interpretation of the funerary record. In the Introduction, B. presents her argument and main objectives; this is followed by an overview of the excavation history of Geometric remains and a description of Eretria's place within the wider regional setting of the Early Iron Age. After a discussion of the site's topography and geomorphology in Ch. I, a detailed description of distinct burial rites, tomb types and grave markers is given in Ch. II. Ch. III provides an in-depth analysis of various classes of grave goods, their typochronology, provenance and distribution, primary use and place in the funerary rites. A recurring point of interest relates to the question whether specific goods or classes of objects can be identified as the deceased's personal belongings, gifts from the next of kin, or the remains of funerary feasts or other ceremonials, and - connected to this - whether objects were made specifically for funerary purposes. The role of animals in the funerary ritual is discussed in Ch. IV. In Ch. V, B. seeks to reconstruct a framework of the possible stages of the funerary ritual (for a large part necessarily based on external literary and iconographic information), and describes how data pertaining to Geometric Eretria fit into this. In Ch. VI, the outcomes of the preceding chapters are related to the current state of research regarding the social structure of early Greece in general and of Geometric Eretria in particular, mainly by means of a discussion of three models suggested by C. Bérard, A. Mazarakis Ainian and J.P. Crielaard, respectively; these researchers have expressed differing views on the role of Eretrian aristocrats in the establishment of the polis and the place that is reserved for them afterwards. This discussion serves as a framework for a reconstruction of the diachronic development of funerary practices from the 9th to the late 8th century, including their relation to class, sex and age differences. In Ch. VII, B. pursues this diachronic perspective further by discussing the available archaeological evidence for the three sub-phases (9th c.; MG II; LG), in order to create a more dynamic picture of the development of the Eretrian community. The last sections of Volume I are devoted to general conclusions and suggestions for further research, and to summaries in English, German and Greek.

Volume II presents the data on which B.'s research is based. For each of the 22 excavation areas that have yielded Geometric burials, B. gives general information about the site, excavations, stratigraphy, finds and problems of interpretation. This is followed by an inventory of the tombs, which includes a description of each tomb, a catalogue of its contents and its date. Next come reports on the osteological research on human and animal remains from the Swiss excavations (analysed by M.A. Porro and I. Chenal-Velarde, respectively). The remainder of Vol. II (almost two thirds of it) is reserved for illustrations, namely maps, plans, photographs and drawings of virtually all elements of the Geometric burial record that are discussed, as well as of many other finds and find complexes of the same period. All tomb information is brought together in a set of tables at the end of the volume.

The great strength of this study lies in the fact that the author does not study the funerary evidence in isolation, but relates her dynamic model of funerary behaviour to various facets of this period's archaeological record, particularly settlement dynamics. She is thus able to argue convincingly that the organization of burial grounds corresponds to that of the settlement: a dispersed type of settlement with separated nuclei of houses is paralleled by the aggregation of tombs in small clusters, both of which are attributable to groups of households (*oikoi*). Burial zones move centrifugally, probably following an expansion of the settlement during the Late Geometric period. Two important, additional points that B. wishes to make go against ideas that figure in the above models regarding Eretria's social structure: one relates to the presumed binary opposition between the elite burial plot of urn cremations under the Heroon and the supposed commoners' cemetery of *fossa* cremations near the coast, the other to the supposition that urn cremation was the only aristocratic form of burial. B. argues instead that some of the late 8th-century *fossa* cremations in the Hygeionomeion area on the coast can also be attributed to members of the elite. The reader can only agree with this (in fact, in an article that appeared just after this study (ref. in note 1579 on p. 142), the present reviewer made a reassessment of the coastal burial plots near the Hygeionomeion and Od. Eratonymou and revised his earlier model, arriving at conclusions that are very similar to the ones that B. draws). What B. avoids discussing, however, are the principles on which the groups of *oikoi* and corresponding burial plots were organized, and what relationship existed between the groups of aristocrats that apparently coexisted during the Late Geometric period.

B. makes her case painstakingly in a long drawn-out and carefully constructed argumentation. Almost every aspect of the burial record is scrupulously discussed. To give one example, in the section on grave pottery in Ch. III (which is on tomb goods), she successively discusses the style and production of the local pottery, production sites, chronology, imports and the possible variation in use of classes of pottery in different forms of burial (76-89). The reader may be somewhat surprised to learn that in the author's analyses of the burial data, she hardly makes use of archaeological or anthropological theory, although in this particular field such theory has proven very valuable. B. considers specific finds or complexes in relation to the totality of data from Eretria - or on what she calls 'l'échelle du site' - or in comparison to contemporary sites in the larger region (Lefkandi, Chalkis, Oropos, Kyme-Viglatouri). Lefkandi is often taken as a point of reference, despite the fact that some

important finds from this site are more than two centuries older.

The result of all this is a very comprehensive overview of Eretria during the Geometric period. It has much to offer also to the more general reader, who will find the synthesizing chapters (VI and VII) particularly helpful. Not everything will be new for specialists, but this is unavoidable with a study of this scope. Besides, some evidence - such as the tombs under the Heroon - was published in an early phase of the systematic excavations at Eretria. The time is evidently right for a systematic reassessment of the interpretations of the original excavators in the light of research done since then at Eretria as well as at neighbouring sites, and, more in general, within the perspective of recent insights into the early history of Greece. Something similar may be said of the illustrations in Vol. II. A number of these have been published before, but scholars who are working on this period will profit enormously from the fact that all this material has now been brought together. More importantly, a large amount of new artwork is presented in the form of plans and maps, and photographs and drawings of trenches, sections, ceramics and other finds that Swiss excavators have brought to light over the years. All of this is of excellent quality. In addition, some finds - especially those from the Heroon area - are republished, such as the iron swords and spearheads that have been cleaned, restored and redrawn.

The osteological research of human and animal bones provides an entirely new dataset, one that is not available in the original excavation reports. The examination of the human bone material also makes it possible to make firmer statements about connections between age and sex on the one hand, and specific grave goods, burial modes and tomb types on the other. Significant in this context is that it has now been established that the urn cremations without weapons under the Heroon indeed belong to females. A minor but interesting detail is that three of the warriors accompanying them appear to have suffered from hernias (p. 126): it appears that wielding spears and performing 'the brutal work of swords' in which according to Archilochos 'the lance-famed lords of Euboia' (fr. 9) excelled, took a heavy toll.

Jan Paul Crielaard

GUDRUN BÜHL/ANTHONY CUTLER/ARNE EFFENBERGER (eds), *Spätantike und byzantinische Elfenbeinbildwerke im Diskurs*. Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2008. 281 pp., 174 plates of which 29 in colour; 25 cm. – ISBN 978-3-89500-497-1.

This well illustrated book contains seventeen papers on the production, use and iconography of ivories dating to late antiquity and the Byzantine period. These papers were presented at a colloquium held in March 2002 organised by the Museum für Byzantinische Kunst der Staatlichen Museen in Berlin. The aim of this colloquium was to bring together the leading specialists on ivory, both from the field of art history as well as technological material research, to discuss the current issues in the research into ivory. The papers in this book all discuss different aspects of this research. Specific objects, groups of objects, production techniques, production places, iconographic issues, research techniques and restoration ethics are all dealt with in the different contributions.

The first paper by Arun Banerjee presents the results of non-destructive investigation of ivory by FTIR and Raman Spectroscopy. By means of these complementary methods substances can accurately be identified. This makes it possible to distinguish different sorts of ivories, like or example walrus ivory and the ivory from the Asian elephant and African Bush and Forest elephants.

The contribution by Gudrun Bühl discusses the making of Early Byzantine *pyxides* and in particular the way the makers produced the bottoms of these circular boxes and fixed them to the walls. For a long time the metal joints found on a number of *pyxides* were disregarded as later additions. Bühl, however, makes it plausible that this was the original way of fixing walls to bottoms and that metal parts formed a considerable component of these boxes. Furthermore she discusses which parts of an elephant tusk were used for the production of *pyxides*.

Jean-Pierre Caillet's contribution discusses the iconography of Mary and Christ, on the large 6th-century diptychs of Murano, Etschmiadzin and Saint-Lucipin, in the theological context of the place and period of their production.

Carolyn L. Connor discusses restoration ethics in her paper on colour on late antique and Byzantine ivories. The fragile remains of polychromy on ivories has in cases been dismissed as being not original or medievalizing and has been removed during restorations. Connor argues for a more reticent approach of colour remains on ivory. For even the cleaning of seemingly non-coloured ivories undoubtedly also removes possible traces of any original polychromy.

In Anthony Cutler's paper on carving in Byzantium and Ottonian Germany, he investigates the differences and similarities between Ottonian and Byzantine carvings in ivory. Instead of stressing the different traditions he underlines the porous character of the putative cultural borders between East and West.

Josef Engemann's contribution discusses the depictions of games held by Senators and Consuls on commemorative presentation objects like Consular diptychs and North African terracotta plates.

Helen C. Evans discusses the imagery on a Middle Byzantine rosette casket in The Metropolitan Museum of Art. She identifies the depiction, earlier often interpreted as scenes based on mythology, with scenes from the Digenis Akritis, an epic poem from the middle Byzantine era about the defence of the Eastern borders of the Empire.

The contribution by John Hanson looks into the use and reuse of Byzantine ivories depicting the Joseph narrative originating from a secular context, in a Western medieval religious context. In his contribution the author focuses on different secondary uses of these ivories.

In Petra Janke's paper on the Byzantine diptychons in the church treasury of the Dom of Halberstadt she investigates the appropriation of two 10th-century diptychons into two reliquaries somewhere during the 13th century.

Hiltrud Jehle's contribution discusses the techno-

logical aspects of the production and possible colouring of ivories. Furthermore she presents a re-interpretation of the so-called Leonsceptre as being a ritual comb.

In his paper on first-generation ivory diptychs, Dale Kinney argues for a complementing discourse to the solely art historical study of these objects: the discourse of visual culture. It forces us to re-examine our habitual language and the encoded assumptions in it.

Holger A. Klein discusses the ivory reliquary of the holy cross in Cortona. This 10th-century reliquary stands out by means of its size and material, for ivory is not often encountered in other cross reliquaries.

The contribution by Ulrike Koenen looks into the phenomenon of 'copies' of late antique works of art in the corpus of Carolingian ivories. In this paper she expresses her doubts whether copy is a correct phrasing to indicate these pieces for the copied models are putative.

Barbara Schellewald's contribution gives a general overview of the early research into ivories in Germany during the late 19th and early 20th century. She outlines a tradition of research initiated by Graeven, Goldschmidt and Vöge that forms the foundation of modern research.

In his paper on ivory horns in medieval church treasuries, Avinoam Shalem discusses the varied methods of keeping and displaying these oliphants in medieval European churches.

Paul Speck's contribution opposes earlier criticism on his observations concerning the Trier ivory, depicting the translation of relics, Middle Byzantine rosette caskets in general, and the Barberini diptych.

The last paper in the book is by Archer St. Clair Harvey and discusses the remains of a late antique and early medieval carving industry on the northeast slope of the Palatine hill in Rome. These came to light during excavations carried out from 1989 to 1994. The archaeological data indicate a flourishing urban industry working both bone and ivory that spanned the first through the mid-6th centuries AD.

The studies presented in this book are all varying in character and show many different approaches towards the ivories discussed. Together they span the whole field of research concerned with ivories. The many, in general good quality, illustrations make it a pleasure to read and enhance the reader's understanding of the discussed pieces and theories. It is therefore unfortunate that two illustrations on plate 14 and 15 are shown in reverse. Nonetheless this collection of papers attains its end, for it gives a perfect overview of the current issues in the research into ivory. Although the details in some papers will partly be interesting by mainly specialists this book forms an adequate update and addition to the already existing literature on ivories. It shows that there still is a lot to gain in our knowledge of even some of the most well known antique ivories.

Maarten van Deventer

FLORIAN STILP, *Die Jacobsthal-Reliefs. Konturierte Tonreliefs aus dem Griechenland der Frühklassik.* Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 2006, pp. XII+281, Farbtaf. A, 1 Abb., Taf. I-LXXXV; 30 cm (Supplemento 29 a Rivista di Archeologia). – ISBN 88-7689-211-7.

Obiettivo della dissertazione, discussa da S. a Freiburg i. Br. nel 2004, è un riesame complessivo dei 'rilievi melii', già oggetto nel 1931 di una celebre monografia di Paul Jacobsthal e per questo molto opportunamente (ri)denominati già nel titolo 'Jacobsthal-Reliefs'. Il catalogo (pp. 159-255), che include i rinvenimenti più recenti, comprende più di centocinquanta pezzi, allargando in misura significativa la precedente base documentaria, ed è allestito con grande cura nelle molte 'voci' anagrafiche previste (Aufbewahrungsort, Provenienz, Erhaltungszustand, Masse, Technik, Farben, Ikonographie, Block (i.e. gruppo stilistico), Datierung, Literatur). In apertura del volume, la storia degli studi (pp. 9-22) appare dettagliata, con attenzione particolare alle diverse ipotesi formulate nel corso di più di un secolo di ricerca sulla possibile destinazione d'uso - funeraria (come sosteneva in primo luogo lo stesso Jacobsthal), votiva, domestica - di questi piccoli 'konturierte Tonreliefs': giusta enfasi in proposito viene data alle (poche) notizie, vecchie e nuove, sulle circostanze di rinvenimento, che ad ogni modo sembrano confermare con buon margine di sicurezza tanto un uso decorativo privato che una destinazione tombale e santuariale. Il capitolo dedicato ai diversi momenti del ciclo produttivo (pp. 23-34) appare analitico e chiarificatore di molti aspetti tecnici fondamentali, come l'uso della matrice, le modalità di rifinitura dei rilievi, l'aspetto della superficie posteriore dei medesimi. Fondamentale è altresì il riconoscimento della notevole variabilità di colore e consistenza della terracotta anche all'interno di un medesimo gruppo o bottega, con ogni probabilità derivante da differenze di 'venature' del tutto occasionali all'interno di un medesimo banco di argilla e dai processi di cottura, le une e gli altri destinati poi ad essere stemperati grazie allo strato di ingubbiatura e di colore stesi sulle superfici. La divisione in gruppi (pp. 35-55) nel complesso non si discosta molto, né avrebbe potuto, da quella già a suo tempo proposta da Jacobsthal. Suscettibile di puntualizzazioni appare però l'indagine stilistica, grazie anche ai vistosi progressi della ricerca archeologica rispetto agli anni in cui fu compiuto lo studio di Jacobsthal. I comparanda proposti si limitano essenzialmente alla ceramografia attica e non viene accordato il giusto risalto alle coeve creazioni della plastica fittile (non solo votiva) o al multiforme artigianato toreutico che si impone sui mercati proprio a cavallo tra VI e prima metà del V sec. a.C., cioè all'incirca nei medesimi decenni in cui vengono prodotti i rilievi oggetto di studio. Una analisi del genere avrebbe forse consentito di riconoscere con maggiore chiarezza il carattere internazionale di un linguaggio che appare sostanzialmente di derivazione ionica, ma nel quale assumono valenza caratterizzante, in un processo di stratificazione, sedimentazione e reinterpretazione, contributi formali di tradizione innanzitutto peloponnesiaca e attica (cfr. in questo senso, *Orizzonti* 7, 2006, pp. 49-81, con rimandi

ai numerosi studi, anche recenti, sull'argomento). In questo senso, in definitiva, sarebbero forse apparsi più chiari e fondati il ruolo ispiratore di Corinto, ipotizzato dallo stesso S. (p. 151) anche in un settore così specifico come quello dei rilievi a ritaglio, e l'oscillazione tra Atene e 'Inselionien' nel problematico percorso che porta S. al riconoscimento dei diversi gruppi. Il dato, poi, dell'altissima percentuale dei pezzi definiti 'isolati' (p. 48), all'incirca un terzo del totale, avrebbe da solo dovuto consigliare una impostazione più prudente dell'indagine formale e del conseguente tentativo di localizzazione delle botteghe, portando a riconoscere innanzitutto una sostanziale unitarietà di fondo dei rilievi. Un cenno rapido viene fatto alle altre due classi di rilievi coeve tecnicamente e (almeno in parte) stilisticamente e funzionalmente simili, i pinakes di Locri e le appliques capuane (e.g. pp. 118, 143). Anche in questo caso il confronto incrociato avrebbe potuto portare a discutere con maggior rigore non solo il profilo stilistico dei rilievi melii, ma anche, forse, le modalità della loro diffusione: come i rilievi melii, infatti, anche le appliques capuane, benché rinvenute quasi esclusivamente in tombe, conoscono sporadiche attestazioni in Sicilia e in alcuni grandi santuari internazionali, quali Olimpia e Naukratis e, dunque, testimoniano anch'esse di una ambivalenza di uso e della trasversalità di certi soggetti figurati; come i rilievi melii, anche le appliques sembrano essere appannaggio di una utenza 'media', che tuttavia conosce ed apprezza le creazioni della toreutica e delle altre forme di artigianato artistico di prestigio contemporanee, senza per questo essere condizionata da contingenze storiche del tipo di quelle evocate da S. (p. 148, i.e. le ristrettezze che fecero seguito alle guerre persiane). Più attenta appare la disamina del repertorio figurato degli Jacobsthal-Reliefs (pp. 73-118) e apprezzabile la discussione sull'uso 'flessibile' delle medesime iconografie in ambito privato (domestico), funerario, santuariale (pp. 116-118): un elemento, questo, di notevole rilievo nel quadro delle indagini che negli ultimi decenni hanno visto impegnata tanta parte degli studiosi di antichità classica, ed hanno oscillato, in una polemica apparentemente senza sbocchi, tra lettura politicamente e programmaticamente orientata del mito e dell'immagine ellenica (anche negli ambienti periferici di accoglienza) - attraverso una selezione preventiva degli oggetti e delle tematiche da essi veicolate - e lettura ideologico-genealogica che contempli l' 'annessione' a questa o quella narrazione di significati di volta in volta consoni alle diverse destinazioni d'uso. Il volume di S. costituisce nell'insieme un apprezzabile progresso per gli studi della plastica fittile di epoca severa e proto-classica, ponendo al contempo le premesse per futuri, ulteriori approfondimenti.

Fernando Gilotta

M.C. BISHOP/J.C.N. COULSTON, *Roman Military Equipment. From the Punic Wars to the Fall of Rome*. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2006². 321 pp., 153 figs, 8 pl.; 24 cm. – ISBN 1-84217-159-3.

This lavish handbook, the second edition, presents Roman military equipment in all its aspects. The primary aim of the first edition was to bring this very important field of study to a wider audience, by covering the complete range of Roman weaponry from the Republic to the later empire. The already impressive study has been extended and revised in this second edition, after a decade that saw an explosion of international research in the subject. This forced the authors to integrate a lot of studies in their existing work and dramatically increased the amount of notes. The excellent illustrations remained for the most part unchanged.

The wealth of evidence is presented in ten chapters. The first three chapters outline the different sorts of evidence: representational (chapter 1), archaeological (2), and documentary (3). After which the authors focus on the important periods in the development of Roman military equipment, which are: the Republican period (chapter 4), from Augustus to Hadrian (5), the Antonine revolution (6), the Army in crisis (7), and the Dominate (8). They then explore the production and technology of the equipment in chapter 9, to end with a chapter on the social aspects of the subject (10).

The three chapters about the sorts of evidence are necessary, because of the numerous misunderstandings in the past. Bishop and Coulston succeed very well in outlining the advantages and limitations of archaeological and other data. This information is helpful when reading the next chapters about military equipment in the different periods. It becomes easier to understand on which type of evidence the authors base their conclusions about aspects of the equipment and why they do so.

The chapters discussing the equipment in the different periods seem to have profited the most from the bulk of new evidence, which was available for the second edition. It was now possible for the authors to go into more detail and incorporate more variations of the equipment. The updated chapters are thus even more valuable as a reference for research on the subject; even military standards and musical instruments are discussed. Very interesting is the influence of barbarian military equipment on the development of Roman weaponry. Besides the impact of the Roman army upon other cultures, the Romans themselves adopted technologies and strategies from their allies and enemies. This study could possibly shed more light on the discussion about Romanisation, especially in the northern provinces. The enormous amount of evidence of two frontier zones, the Rhine and the Danube region, makes it possible to go into greater detail with this research. In this aspect the amount of sites in the Near East, the other frontier zone, hopefully will also increase in the near future, allowing the interaction in this region to be studied better.

Considering this wealth of available evidence the last chapters, which discuss the technical and social aspects, are relatively short. The army is probably one of the most important elements of society in the Roman empire. Its presence in the provinces very much stimulated the development of local cultures and economies. This should be an invitation to many new types of research. For the moment the authors more or less only give an overview of the existing study on Roman military equipment. Given the fact that the amount of articles on the subject has dramatically increased in the last ten years, this is not surprising. But the chapters can also provide many new aspects for study, with the popularity of Ro-

man military equipment as a focus of research, and the improved excavation methods, it is very well possible that the study of social aspects will develop swiftly.

Perhaps Bishop and Coulston should not wait another 13 years to present a third edition, but write it much sooner. A suggestion to make this publication easier to use as a reference, is to add a catalogue with an overview of the development of the weapons. When you are looking now for a specific type of equipment, you do not have a direct access to all types. However, already this second edition is an indispensable handbook for all students of the Roman army.

Peter Hazen

GABRIELE CIFANI, *Architettura romana arcaica. Edilizia e società tra Monarchia e Repubblica*. Roma: «L'Erma» di Bretschneider, 2008. 401 pp., 270 figs; 28.5 cm (Bibliotheca Archaeologica 40). – ISBN 978-88-8265-444-3.

Cifani's reworking of his 1993 PhD thesis done for prof. Carandini at Rome's La Sapienza University is a remarkable feat. It tries to re-assess the building record of archaic Rome and its province in the light of the last several decades of discoveries and research. The aim of this bulky study of architectural types, building technology and prime materials during the period 610-390 BC in the area between Fidenae and Ficana in the East to Veii in the West, is to better understand mid- and long term social dynamics. The subject used to be called Early Rome (E. Gjerstadt), but is now defined in a much less ideologically coloured way as a city community in transition between monarchy and republic.

Such a synthesis is dearly needed for anyone trying to engage with the ever growing mass of both official and 'grey' literature following the countless excavations, surveys, and academic research projects in this core region of the ancient world. The importance of its practical use - the book quotes over 1,000 publications - is underlined by the fact that it is co-edited by the Directorate General for Archaeology. Cifani's approach is fourfold. After a lengthy but enlightening introduction to the history of research (with remarkable visual records of the protagonists, starring Lanciani, Lugli and Pallottino), Cifani presents a 121 item catalogue of the building evidence in the area under consideration, including a full digest of the literary sources, wherever present. Particularly the sections dedicated to the Capitolium (30 pages), S. Omobono, and the Palatine including the four famous archaic *domus* recently found there constitute veritable essays in themselves. Next, building technique is discussed, focussing on prime materials (tufa, clay, metal, wood), quarries, wall construction, and protective systems (floors, walls, roofs). Lastly, the societal context is investigated. Surprisingly, a balance is being struck here between traditional concern for highly visual urban development and religious architecture on the one hand, and rural contexts, infrastructure (roads, drainage, cisterns), and funerary evidence, on the other.

The question is whether Cifani is successful in his endeavour. I think the answer is only partially affirmative. Because of its detailed and systematic descriptions, drawings and intelligent discussion of resources, the volume can be used as a source book by anyone working on archaic Rome, Etruria and Latium. All too often the study of any phenomenon from this period and region is hampered by the inaccessibility of publications, or, if accessible, by the closed circuit of discussion and debate by the *adetti ai lavori*. I think it is important that Cifani took the trouble of opening up this field to many interested but uninitiated scholars. In addition, what he has to say about temple architecture, the beginnings of Roman art and the political-societal developments in the obscure period 540-480 BC, is clear and informative. I was taken in particular by his reconstruction of the commissioning process (Ch. IV.10), evidence of a fresh approach.

Yet the nature of digests like these renders them quickly out of date. Even though the manuscript was closed in 2007, only a year before publication, important studies that came out very shortly afterwards, such as Karen's and Mats's *The Temple of Castor and Pollux* II.2 - *The Finds*, may well make this book less than topical. In fact, the catalogue section, by far its most useful feature, would do much better in a wikipedia form, accessible to all and with continuous, high frequency updates.

A second critical issue is the editorial accuracy. Almost every page shows printing errors, particularly so in but certainly not confined to Latin quotations and foreign language publication titles. For the ever increasing prices L'Erma is asking for its books, the editor might have taken the trouble of better overseeing the correction process. Were this defect acceptable when trying to understand Cifani's often very interesting reasonings, I found also a gross factual mistake in another area. In his chapter on religious architecture (IV.3), Cifani tries to connect the explosion of size witnessed in the dimensions of the Jupiter Capitolinus temple with the monster temples on Samos and at Ephesos and Athens. The evidence adduced, among which a comparison of groundplans of some twenty central-Italic temples, however, is not correct in at least one case I am intimately familiar with (no. 8 in Fig. 254, Satricum temple II, is represented half-size), rendering the result as a whole - alas! - less than reliable.

To close on a high note: it is welcome to get acquainted with a new generation of high potential specialists, who place themselves in the best traditions of Italian scholarship but do not hesitate to look at old things in new ways.

Riemer Knoop

NATHALIE DE HAAN/MARTIJN EICKHOFF/MARJAN SCHWEGMAN (eds), *Archaeology and National Identity in Italy and Europe, 1800-1950*. Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2008. 263 pp., figs; 24 cm (Fragmenta 2). – ISBN 978-2-503-52406-1.

This volume of essays is the product of a conference on archaeology and national identity in Italy held at the Royal Netherlands Institute in Rome in 2007. In an enviably short period of time, the editors managed to collect and in some cases translate the essays, and they

are now presented here, together with extensive bibliographies and in many cases detailed footnotes. While the essays have very different aims and are of varying quality (the quality of the translations into English also varies enormously), together they represent an impressive attempt to piece together the history of archaeology in Italy, a much under-studied subject by comparison to the rich recent work on Greece, Germany, France, and the British Isles. The volume is particularly noteworthy in the authors' reliance on archival sources, and in their commitment to showing the wide variety of relationships between scholarship and politics over the course of the 19th and 20th centuries. In the following review, I will not try to describe every essay, but rather to offer a few comments on what this reviewer (an historian) found most interesting in the essays, and on the work that remains to be done.

The volume opens with several well-done essays, on the transition from amateur to professional work in Pompeii (in which Alexandre Dumas plays a starring role), and on the Vatican Museum's collection and display of Egyptian and Etruscan works. In the latter essay, Mirjam Hoijtink begins to describe an important transition, from the Catholic-Enlightened pursuit of universal history, to the more specifically national-historical exhibitions. She makes the very important point that 'The process of what one may call the dawn of nationalism was actually a remarkably slow one,' (p. 41), an observation whose verity is demonstrated in many ways by other essays in the volume, such as Stephen Dyson's discussion of American classicism, in which he shows how important Rome and especially Greece were to American culture, despite the fact that neither Caesar nor Alexander set foot on North American soil. Jürgen Krüger offers rich documentation of the passion for Rome Christian Carl Josias von Bunsen shared with Prussian Crown Prince Friedrich Wilhelm, who looked to the Forum Romanum, rather than to Nuremberg or Aachen, for models for Berlin's new city center. Later essays in the volume, such as Rachele Dubbini's on Giulio Emmanuele Rizzo and Nathalie de Haan's on Umberto Zanotti Bianco, nicely illustrate the Graecophilia some Italian scholars refused to give up, even in the era of state-backed *Romanità*. Thomas Fröhlich, in his essay on the study of the Lombards and Ostrogoths by German scholars in Italy during the late 1930s and early 1940s, reminds us that for the whole of the 19th century, prehistorical archaeology 'was not taught in the universities and field work was basically carried out by enthusiasts and amateurs' (p. 185). Even in the Nazi era, the study of things German was by no means German archaeologists' only pursuit, and Christian Jansen reminds us that the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, the outgrowth of the international Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica, fought many a battle with other, *more* nationalistic organizations. Rather ironically, then, in my view, one of the major achievements of the volume is to show how the aristocratic and humanistic traditions of previous eras continued to shape scholarly institutions, careers and tastes, despite the rise of new forms of nationalist politics. Indeed, without understanding both the confluences and conflicts between the humanist tradition and the advent of national (and sometimes nationalist) institutions, we will find it impossible to understand the history of archaeology, especially as practiced in humanism's heartland, Italy.

Of course, there is much more readers can learn from this volume. A number of the essays are based on extensive archival research, and scholars interested in these specific subjects will learn much, for example, about Rodolfo Lanciani, a hugely important and influential scholar and official in Rome whose career lasted from the 1870s to the 1920s, and about Umberto Zanotti Bianco, whose wealth, political liberalism and love of the Greeks made him an archaeologist - and an enemy of the fascists. Some of these essays - like the two just mentioned - succeed in integrating careful, specialized research with a wider view of the historical context; others, I'm afraid, just offer some facts about particular individuals or institutions and fail to make these meaningful by linking them to the cultural, social and political worlds around them. One cannot write the history of archaeology now in the way it was sometimes done in the past, as hagiography, or as simple documentation of what happened when - and, as this volume shows, there is still some of this kind of work being done. But by no means is this the prevailing tendency, and this volume gives us every reason to hope that we will soon see more and better histories written, and that the history of archaeology in Italy will at last get its due.

Suzanne Marchand

MAURIZIO SANNIBALE, *La raccolta Giacinto Guglielmi*. Parte II. *Bronzi e materiali vari*. Roma: «L'Erma» di Bretschneider 2008. 374 pp., numerous ill., 24 cm (Musei Vaticani. Museo Gregoriano Etrusco. Cataloghi, 4/2). – ISBN 978-88-8265-X.

Whereas M. Buranelli (ed.), *La raccolta G. Guglielmi*, Parte I. *La ceramica* (Rome 1997), is dedicated to Greek and Etruscan vases, now the second part, mainly written by Maurizio Sannibale (but assisted by many technical experts), deals with bronze artefacts, a terracotta head of an ancestral(?) statue, and some iron, golden and bone artefacts.

As is well known, two parts of the Guglielmi collection from Vulci entered successively the Vatican Museums, in 1935 and 1987 (pp. 7-14). They came to belong to the splendid Museo Gregoriano Etrusco. In this catalogue micro-contexts (e.g. no 87, a tiny iron axe found inside a pseudo-Panathenaic amphora) could be reconstructed and elements which originally belonged to one object, could be integrated. All objects are supposed to originate from Vulci, although not one precise find-spot is known. Most of them are Etruscan but an Egyptian statuette of Osiris (no 1, ca 664-525 BC) certainly was imported.

Sannibale and incidentally colleagues, G. Alteri, B.B. Shefton (publishing in English), and A. Testa, describe, interpret and date in a meticulous way 205 objects. These are well illustrated, some even by colour or radiographic photos and drawings. A very positive ad extraordinary point is that a metal analysis of most bronze objects has been executed by U. Santamaria and F. Morresi. The artefacts were subjected to qualitative surface

analysis by energy dispersive X-ray fluorescence (XRF). This method, calibrated by the results of five types of destructive analyses (p. 283-284, Table 2), informs us about the composition of metals affording the percentages of Fe, Co, Ni, Cu, Zn, Sn, Pb and As (also presented in Table 3, pp. 285-288, with the addition of S, Au and Ag). Unfortunately, total percentages are missing. Many samples exceed 100% but these excessions are due to margins in the exactness of measurements. In practice most significant are the quantities of copper, tin and lead. Comparison, however, with the alloys of bronze mirrors published in the ca 30 volumes of the *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum* is difficult as mirrors usually hardly (or not all) contain traces of lead, in contrast to other cast bronzes and massive handles of mirrors.

The catalogue contains the following sections: bronze statuettes and a terracotta head, *instrumentum* (bronze vases, utensils, elements of furniture, candelabra and *thymiateria*, mirrors and *cistae*), arms and horse harnesses, decorative and ornamental objects (*fibulae*, rings etc.) and coins. The countless references to *comparanda* and relevant publications mentioned in the margins of the pages are abundant, up to date and to the point.

Finally Sannibale presents a material history of Vulci, from ca 900 until modern time, based on all the objects dealt with (pp. 289-297). Updated concordances of both Guglielmi catalogues (ordered to class, inv. no, material and date), an index according to catalogue numbers and a bibliography conclude the book.

The text is excellent apart from little slips of the pen like the Italianized *krobilos* instead of *krôbylos* (p. 21).

Some artefacts are unique and fascinating, e.g. an elegant bronze statuette, dedicated by Arnth Muras to the deities *Thufl(tha)* and *Şu(u)ri* (Lat. Soranus/Dis Pater/Apollo). The dedicant may have been buried in the main, rear *cella* of the Tomba François. The statuette is now dated to ca 250-200 BC, therefore after Rome's conquest of Vulci. It represents a young man with *endromides* and *nebris* only, holding a (closed) *kantharos* (or krater?) in his left hand and a birdlike, damaged attribute on his head. His raised right arm is incomplete. Sannibale rejects the recent interpretation of N. de Grummond (in *Ancient West & East* 40, 2006, 296-317) as Favor trying to catch a bird. Her assumption is based on Propertius 4.2.33-34 who mentions Favor (or Fautor) as one of the metamorphoses of the originally Etruscan main god Vertumnus. Favor would be identical to Thufltha. Sannibale's *comparanda*, however, show that the young, tailless statuette does not represent a satyr as was suggested by M. Bentz but probably Fufluns/Dionysos making a libation (pp. 27-36). I would like to add that the male statuette cannot represent Thufltha as she bears a female name judged by the suffix *–tha* (cf. Ramtha). That an image of a god is offered to other gods, is not exceptional (cf. a famous bronze statuette in Ferrara representing Apulu but dedicated to Aritimi (H. Rix, *Etruskische Texte* OB 3.2)). Among the bronze tang mirrors especially the early no. 119, dated to ca 500 BC, is interesting as the exergues show oriental and Egyptian elements: winged, rapacious bird heads which are probably death demons and probably a pair of *uraei* (see also M. Sannibale, Tra cielo e terra, *StEtr* 72, 2006, 117-147).

Who studies the catalogue, will find artefacts of material classes, e.g. the so-called *graffioni*, probably bronze torch holders (pp. 150-157) and *kottaboi* (pp. 139-140) which deserve a separate monograph, especially in the light of possible, ritual uses.

Catalogues are indispensable but very expensive. Let us hope that museums all over the world will publish their artefacts (also) online, with the permission to reproduce, for education and research scopes, illustrations without time and money consuming bureaucratic fuss.

L.B. van der Meer

J. SCHEID (ed.), *Pour une archéologie du rite. Nouvelles perspectives de l'archéologie funéraire*. Rome: École française de Rome 2008. 358 pp., 220 b. & w. figs, 4 colour figs, 14 tables, 23 plans, 3 maps; 28 cm (Collection de l'École française de Rome - 407). – ISBN 978-2-7283-0816-3.

This book contains 23 contributions, written in four languages, which were presented on scientific meetings in Paris and Cambridge, both in 2005, in the context of the European program *Vivre et mourir dans l'Empire romain. Nouvelles perspectives de l'archéologie funéraire. Influences culturelles du centre vers la périphérie*. Scope of the interdisciplinary project is to elaborate a common set of excavation- and registration procedures (by model databases), to promote the study of Roman imperial cemeteries in Rome, Italy and northwest Europe and to stimulate international contacts and debates. In his Prologue the editor, John Scheid, pleads for a correct use of written ancient sources in the study of funerary rites: they have to be contextualized. Often they are focused on elite cremations (rarely on inhumation). Many ritual details, which are visible in the field, are not mentioned in texts. It appears that Scheid uses the French words *rite* and *rituel* indiscriminately. For him rites imply the whole *modus operandi* (among others the sacrifices before, during and after the placing of the mortal human remains in a tomb). Here is a very short summary of the articles in a reshuffled order as they are not all clustered according to place or period. S. Martin-Kilcher pays attention to the archaeological traces of exposition (of the corpse), procession, cremation, deposition in, closing and marking of a burial place, and memory aspects in northwest Europe (pp. 9-27). A. Aberg-Wigg analyzes in the same area *Aschengruben*, places where only ashes, pieces of charcoal, ceramic and glass fragments, and sometimes calcified animal bones and carbonized vegetal remains were found (243-257). J. Pierce analyzes the differences between urban and rural cemeteries in Great Britain. In the latter case formal burial is visible in central and southern England, but only in the late Roman period (29-42). P. Booth et al. enlighten burials in England from the Oxford archaeology perspective (127-136). M.R. Picuti stresses the importance of Latin funerary inscriptions (43-58). A. Buccelato et al. present a reconstruction of rituals which took place in the necropolis Collatina (Rome). Bones of a *sus scrofa* in a cinerary *olla* confirm literary sources that the sacrifice of a swine in honour of Ceres garanteed the reception of the deceased in the afterlife (59-88). C. Leoni et al. present the excavations of cemeteries of Classe at Ravenna.

Thanks to the wet conditions remains of wood sealed by clay were preserved. G. Montevecchio shows the use of File Marker 5.0 for creating databases of these necropoles (243-257). H. Duday et al. analyze tomb 77 there (with a wooden coffin) from the taphonomic perspective (197-210). J. Ortalli analyzes pre-burial rites, among others at Classe. I. Béraud et al. apply the 'lessons' of Classe on old excavations at Fréjus (223-231). S. Lepetz et al. cast light upon the ritual practices in a section of the cemetery of Porta Nocera at Pompeii (105-126). H. Duday analyzes a child's inhumation in the same necropolis (211-221). D. Joly presents a database of the cemetery (281-295). C. Gaeng et al. show traces of the rites sketched by Scheid in cemeteries of Luxemburg (Clemency; Goeblange-Nospelt) (161-170). M. Witteyer analyzes remains of cremation places and manipulation of bones during the *ossilegium* (171-195). Similar themes, cremation in fossae and cremation in other burial places, are dealt with by V. Bel et al. (233-247). P. Meniel illustrates excavation methods and laboratory studies of animal sacrifices (259-268). V. Matterne presents a similar study on the remains of fruits and grains (268-279). M. Angelini et al. show the delicate recuperation of parts of mobile artefacts (metal, textile etc.; 305-323). S. Minozzi et al. present the archiving of archaeological and anthropological remains in file models of databases (337-349). At the end there are summaries of all articles. There is no general evaluation nor an index. The illustrations are of good quality. This book is a must for all those who study cemeteries and funerary rituals. The main accent is on methods and models. Whether these will be followed by young scholars internationally, remains to be seen. The planned English and French versions may be helpful. Anyhow, the exchange of ideas about the detection of funerary practices (sometimes rituals) is a laudable initiative. Many articles prove that a science-based approach (by anthropologists, archaeozoologists and palaeo-botanists) is fundamental for the reconstruction of ritual gestures outside, inside and on burial places. They prove, moreover, that the rituals were not universal but varied from region to region.

L.B. van der Meer

SINCLAIR BELL/HELEN NAGY (eds), *New Perspectives on Etruria and Early Rome. In honor of Richard Daniel De Puma*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2009. xxiv and 305 pp., 75 b/w photos, 42 line drawings, 6 maps, 26 cm (Wisconsin Studies in Classics). – ISBN 978-0-299-23030-2.

This beautiful, well readable and rather well illustrated book is a *Festschrift* with 18 articles presented to Richard Daniel De Puma, the F. Wendell Miller distinguished professor emeritus of classical art and archaeology at the University of Iowa, where he taught for more than thirty years. This every inch gentleman-archaeologist and ancient art historian was among others co-director of excavations at Crustumerium. The title of the volume suggests that some essays are dedicated to Etruria and the other ones to early Rome (which is only partly true). Most interesting are P. Gegory Warden's and G. Camporeale's thought-provoking contributions. Warden suggests that Etruscan representations of anthropophagous animals, from ca 700 BC onward, symbolize a transformative rite of passage: 'animal consumes human; human assumes the animal.' Actaeon in the pediments of the famous Amazonomachy sarcophagus from Tarquinia (ca 350 B.C.) for example would in fact show him not only as a victim of dogs but also as *potnios theron*. Camporeale goes a step further, taking as starting point Arnobius, *Adv. nat.* 2.62: Etruscan *libri Acherontici* promise that souls become divine and immortal by the blood of certain animals for certain gods. He lists tombs, tomb-sculptures, -cult rooms, and -theatres trying prove that many cases of ancestral cult should rather be interpreted as deifications of deceased. Although his theory is suggestive, hard proofs, for example by indications in funerary inscriptions are lacking. L. Bonfante illustrates diachronically the motif of *anasyrma* (the Baubo gesture) in Assyrian, Greek, Etruscan and Roman art. The motif first meant the exhibition of beauty and power, gradually it became apotropaic. A.A. Carpino enlightens in a subtle way the *interpretatio etrusca* of duelling warrior scenes (of Greek origin) on Etruscan bronze mirrors. As mirrors were usually property of women, war scenes seem misplaced. However, Eos and Athena point to female agency in the apotheosis of male heroes. P.J. Holliday pays attention to Civitalba's famous terracotta pediment showing the discovery of Ariadne by Dionysos and the frieze showing plundering Gauls, both dated by him to ca 180 BC and Roman programs of commemoration and unification (in Umbria). The author cannot explain why the terracottas never were displayed. It seems to me that the *Senatusconsultum de Bacchanalibus* of 186 BC has been prohibitive. D. Soren and E. Nell meticulously demonstrate the transition of a cold water cult at Mezzomiglio in Chianciano Terme from Etruscan (3rd century BC) to Roman times (2nd century AD). The 'cultural interface' sanctuary and spa may have been dedicated to Selene/Tiv/Luna. A. Tuck tries to demonstrate that the Etruscan death goddess Vanth would be of Celtic origin (cf. Irish *badhb* or *bean sí*), a female death bringer who is not represented in art. Tuck's argument that Vanth only appears after ca 400 BC when Celts invaded Italy, is incorrect as her name is already known in the 7th century BC (see H. Rix (ed.), *Etruskische Texte* II, 126, AV 2.3). The general opinion is that the iconography of Vanth is influenced by South Italian death demons with a cross belt over their naked breasts, Furies like Lyssa (see Bonfante in the same volume, p. 166). Other articles on Etruria are object-focused. S. Steingräber shows that many Etruscan artefacts in Japan are fakes (forgers unknown); J. MacIntosh analyzes the 'Etruscan' gold from Cerveteri and elsewhere in the University of Pennsylvania Museum, and M. Nielsen dates a terracotta lid couple (the man missing) in the Museum of Arts at Boston to ca 100 BC. Its provenance appears to be Perugia. I. Rowland discusses the lost *Iter Hetruscum* of Athanasius Kircher (1665-1678) and I. Edlund affords an amusing essay on real Etruscans in modern fiction. So far Etruria. Early Rome is more or less represented by P. Togninelli's excellent observations on the first Iron Age phases and finds from the Archaic phase in the area between Crustumerium and Eretum, a border region near the Tiber, between the Sabine ter-

ritory and Latium Vetus, not far from the intercultural sanctuary Lucus Feronia in the Faliscan area. F. di Gennaro's article suggests preventing looting (which happens at Crustumerium) by 'exchanging loans for the preservation of cultural patrimony'. C. Green focuses on the gods of the Circus Maximus in Rome: Consus (at the *meta*) and Sessia, Messia and Tutela (along the *spina*). She concludes that they were guardian deities marking a sacred city boundary. Consus would not be a god of stored corn but of secret counsels (cf. condere: to hide). A weak point in Green's hypothesis is that Seia (associated with Tutilina?) cannot derive from Lat. *serere* ('to link'). The remaining articles do not focus on early Rome. J.R. Clarke tries to reconstruct how painters created near-exact copies (in Pompeii); J. Penny Small asks herself why linear perspective would be necessary, and C. C. Mattusch pays attention to bronze portraits from the Villa dei Papyri at Herculaneum and the conflict between Winckelmann and the Reale Accademia about identications. It is a pity that the articles are presented in a random order. There are some flaws, e.g. on p. 23 Q. Fabio Rulliano and P. Decio Mure should be Q. Fabius Rullianus and P. Decius Mus. Grosetto (p. 30) should be Grosseto. Fuinis has to be Φuinis (< Gr. Phoinix), Hippolitus Hippolytos, *Aruspicinae libri Haruspicini libri* (pp. 236-238). Sometimes references are made to inaccessible MA-theses. If they are worthwhile, they should be published. The *Festschrift* includes good indexes.

L.B. van der Meer

SILVIA ROZENBERG, *Hasmonean and Herodian Palace at Jericho* IV. *The Decoration of Herod's Third Palace at Jericho*. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society & Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2008. XIV, 594 pp.; 31 cm. – ISBN 978-965-221-071-5.

The monumental complexes of the Hasmonean kings at Jericho have been under research by American and Israelian scholars for more than fifty years and Ehud Netzer, the zealous director of studies, has published several large volumes. Rozenberg has worked with him and others for three decades and presents in this large, well edited volume the wall, floor and vault/ceiling decorations in paint, stucco and mosaic c.q. *opus sectile* belonging to the palace built after 30 BCE by Herod the Great (73-4 BCE). The first chapter (pp. 1-245) contains a full description of the remains *in situ* and the fragments found in the various rooms, mostly illustrated with black-and-white drawings. When possible, she inserts reconstructions of the decoration schemes in the shape of simple drawings. As to the wall decorations, dark dadoes, sometimes with linear decorative motifs, prevail, whereas the main zones often have central *aediculae* flanked by panels. The upper zones are almost always absent in these reconstructions, so that the reader has to guess, whether they did not exist or cannot simply be reconstructed. Columns in the various courtyards and in *triclinium* B70 (that I would rather call an *oecus corinthius* like those in the Houses of the Labyrinth and the Silver Wedding at Pompeii) were also covered with plaster and paint and looked like being hewn out of marble. The ceilings and domes mostly had decorations of regular patterns with coffers executed in stucco. The floors were lavishly executed in *opus sectile* (one older pavement in *opus tessellatum* is shown on p. 186).

Chapter II (pp. 247-282) concerns the technical aspects of paintings. Rozenberg gives both general and specific data, beginning with remarks about literary sources and fresco, tempera and secco techniques. Chemical analyses have been carried out on several pieces, whereas pigments found in bowls (p. 198: painter's workshop) could be studied in detail. The Jericho paintings technically correspond to murals found all-over the Roman Empire. Since Rozenberg discusses really all aspects in a readable way, this chapter would fit as a masterly section in a manual on ancient painting.

Chapter III (pp. 283-424) discusses mural decorations in the area that Jericho belongs to. Many barely known or unknown complexes in Israel, Jordan and Lebanon are presented, so that this chapter also surpasses the simple discussion of parallels, adding a large amount of information to our knowledge of late Hellenistic paintings in the ancient Near East (e.g. Cypros, Masada, Herodion, Samaria-Sebaste, Jerusalem, and Petra). Rozenberg has a great command of the comparanda in the Roman world and is able to present a coherent image of the decoration *koine* existing in the Mediterraneum at the end of the 1st century BCE, in which the decorations presented here take a logical place. Probably mainly for the local readers, Roman and Pompeian examples are discussed at length, so that the match between East and West becomes more clear. She refers to three or four visits of Herodes to Rome (esp. p. 463), where he may have got inspiration for the interior design of his numerous palaces and other dwellings all-over the Land of Israel.

In Chapter IV (pp. 425-473) these data are used to match the results of the recomposition of decorative systems in the palace at Jericho. Rozenberg starts with the adaptation of colour schemes to specific rooms and notes the fondness of strong contrast, e.g. between yellow and red and the spatial effects these schemes could give. A peculiar aspect is the large amount of marble imitation in a time that it was no longer used in Italy (and it would reappear in the time of Nero), probably to be seen as an oriental more or less local feature (p. 429), which suggestion I am inclined to follow rather than seeing it as a proof of retardation.

Strikingly, the dimensions and forms of the architectural elements of these murals are no longer similar to those of the late Second Style or the paintings of the early-Augustan buildings on the Palatine, but look more like those belonging to the early Third Style, viz. Boscotrecase and Villa Imperiale. This makes them a good testimony of the rapid expansion of the simpler artistic language Augustus wanted to divulgate in the run of his reign. In my view, therefore, the parallels with the paintings from the so-called Villa della Farnesina and the Houses of Augustus and Livia on the Palatine are less convincing, since these decorations are not only of a much higher level, but also - which is more important - the mindset of Augustus and his circle in the early years of his reign, around 30-25 BCE. This conviction of mine does not diminish the importance of Herod's paintings as expressions of his zealous imitation of the emperor, but only refines this 'Kunstwollen' to a slightly

later date, much in correspondence with Herod's own data of contact with Rome, being the most important years 18-17, 12 and 10-9, hence exactly the period of a greater simplicity in mural decoration. The connection with the political world is made correctly by Rozenberg, in that she sees the decoration of the palace at Jericho as good expressions of Herod's wish to be a good follower of his real sovereign. The absence of figural motifs, on the other hand, should suit the Jewish reserves against figures on the basis of their belief.

The section on the design is less convincing than the previous discussions, for the decorations are no longer seen as compositions of entire walls, but as a mix of various elements like lines, panels, architectural forms and curly motifs. Of course, many details have their counterparts in Rome, but they make part of a whole, like the pinnacles as acroteria (pp. 442-443). Even where Rozenberg highlights painted architectures, she loses her way in putting the accent on details instead of discussing the whole. A problem in this respect is the already mentioned almost total absence of data for the reconstruction of the upper zones. It is not probable that these sections remained mainly white (as argued on p. 361): the reconstructions often show a central aedicule in the main zone jutting out above the upper bands of the panels next to it, suggesting the presence of other features under the closing border of the wall.

The much briefer chapters V and VI (pp. 475-521; 523-543) present the stucco decorations (architectural and ceiling adornments) and the floors in *opus sectile*, Naama Viloshni describes in Chapter VII the terracotta fragments (pp. 545-547), few pieces only, probably belonging to the wall decorations like the well-known Campana reliefs or to the roof systems. An extensive bibliography concludes the work that unfortunately lacks a topographical index.

It may be clear from what is written here, that the importance of Rozenberg's study surpasses that of the thorough presentation of a fascinating complex. The author makes clear that the Land of Israel in the time of Augustus wanted to be a satellite state of certain relevance, as expressed in Herod's building and decoration programme. Further studies on exchange of ideas and forms between centre and periphery will gain great profit of studying Rozenberg's monograph.

Eric M. Moormann

CLAUDIA LUCCHESE, *Il mausoleo di Alicarnasso e i suoi maestri*. Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 2009 (Maestri dell'arte classica 1). XI, 71 pp., 15 figs, 14 pls; 21 cm. – ISBN 978-88-7689-219-2.

This small book about one of the most famous works of art in the eastern Mediterranean of the 4th century BC is presented as the first of a new collection of monographs on important creations by Greek artists edited by Luigi Todisco. He hopes these major expressions of the Greek mind to become better known to students and people not familiar with the subjects. Lucchese succeeds in clearly exposing the many problems concerning the reconstruction of the original form and decoration of the mausoleum. She gives an excellent overview of the various proposals and shows a good command of the vast bulk of literature about the topic. There are four chapters, the first of which describes the cultural and urbanistic basic data. The second chapter discusses architectural features (as far as known), proposals of reconstructing the monument, decoration, architects, and artists. Without being conclusive, she adheres Jeppesen's reconstruction (see fig. 7) that is based on the scholar's peculiar knowledge as the excavator of the remains in modern Bodrum. She is cautious as to the use of the ancient sources regarding the architects Pytheos and Satyros and the famous sculptors Skopas, Leochares, Timotheos, Bryaxis, and Praxiteles. As to dating, Lucchese does not expressively adhere an early dating (to the reign of Mausolos) or a late one (Artemisia after M's death), which one may understand. At the least, we observe the integration of the Mausoleum within Mausolos' new town planning of Halikarnassos.

All this has its consequences for the following chapter on the meaning of the sculptural decoration and its reconstruction. Novelty for the general reader will especially lie in the definition of the cultural environment, viz. the southwest coast of Turkey in that period, when the satraps and lower dynasts of Lycia and Caria built lavish funerary monuments. The Mausoleum is big, showing wealth and power, but not unique or rising *ex nihilo*. Apparently the local dynasts sought to satisfy their sovereigns in far Persepolis (or the controlling officers acting for them) as well as the population at home, enhancing, finally, their own prestige by erecting this sort of funerary monuments.

A puzzling aspect is the interpretation of the iconographic themes used on the Mausoleum and other satrapic monuments of the kind. One sees many mythical machai (Centaurs, Amazons, Troy), whereas heroes like Perseus, Bellerophon (indeed, from this area), Theseus and Herakles feature as the saviours of mankind by killing monsters and barbarians. Seen from a Greek standpoint, they often reflect the superiority Greece pretended to have over the Persians, thanks to the victories in the Persian Wars. Within a Greek contexts, there could even be special accentuations, making one of the fighting groups specific enemies or winners. This adaptation of a Greek cultural language at first sight puzzles us, when we look at it from a Grecocentric point of view, but might it not be a similar expression of rethinking values. Could it not be the Persians identifying themselves with these saviours? Consequently, I suggest that they asked Greek artists to display a 'Greek', to them familiar programme, that now should be seen within their realm as showing the Persians, Carians or other local groups as beholders of civilisation. Because of their background, knowledge and skills, these Greek artists warranted a high-quality execution of the works of art asked for, but the public would associate these images with the man (or woman) entombed here. Perikles of Limyra could even show a double play by inserting caryatids à la Erechtheion and so referring to his Athenian name-sake. Typically Persian aspects did not fail: see the dynast on a throne in the lower register, the hunting scenes and the heraldic animals walking or standing on the pyramid-like roof, that in itself also reflected eastern architecture.

The original sources, a rich bibliography and foot-

notes conclude the work. The book does not look very attractive in its layout and has very bad images, which, moreover, are all taken from existing publications. As to the maps, we see two in Italian (fig. 1-2) and one in German (fig. 11). The circle on fig. 2 has sense in Corso's original publication but is here superfluous. The reproductions of the line drawings are weak and miss a scale, which is especially clumsy, when one wants to compare the various reconstructions of the building. If the editor wants to attract new readers, he does not succeed by this form of presentation.

Eric M. Moormann

A. FILGES (ed.), *Blaundos. Berichte zur Erforschung einer Kleinstadt im lydisch-phrygischen Grenzgebiet*. Tübingen: Ernst Wasmuth Verlag, 2006. XIII, 351 pp., 285 figs, 2 colour plates, 4 'Falttafel'; 3 maps; 30 cm (Istanbuler Forschungen, Band 48). – ISBN 978-3-8030-1769-7.

Asia Minor is rich in impressive urban sites, some excavated, others simply standing on the earth, clearly visible to visitors in a more or less preserved state and constantly threatened by local people who for various reasons demolish them (for the latter cf. pp. 15, 31/32, 223, 284, for saddening examples); many more still lurk under the earth waiting for skilled excavators but unfortunately often a prey for illegal diggers. Many urban ruins have been visited and described in the 16th-19th centuries and have suffered ever since. It is the more regrettable that Dutch archaeology is by and large invisible in Turkey. We do have an institute in Istanbul but its focus is on Ottoman history and it dabbles somewhat in prehistory, whose sites are least threatened by illegal diggers, bent as they are on building blocks, precious objects and metals.

The volume under review concerns the site of the city of Blaundos, visited in the 19th century by Arundell and Hamilton, described in 1894 by K. Buresch as 'eines Stückes entschwundener Märchenwelt' and in the period 1999-2002 intensively studied by a team of German experts led by A. Filges (F. from now on), and generously supported by the German Institute in Istanbul. In 1995 K. Akbiyrkoğlu has executed an 'emergency excavation' yielding sculpture and building blocks of a temple. The word 'Notgrabung' is significant (see above). Blaundos, ca 200 km. east of Izmir and 40 km. south of Uşak, lies on a high plateau, surrounded on three sides by steep canyons and only accessible through a narrow strip in the north: see the splendid and almost awe-inspiring drawing by Arundell on p. 8. The city's necropoleis consist of ca 270 rock-cut tombs, some of them with vestiges of wall-paintings and all more or less 'ausgeraubt' (p. 223) by the locals.

After introductory chapters on previous research and ancient travellers, on the territory (*chora*) and the history of the city from Hellenistic to Byzantine times, the 'real thing' begins with a detailed report on the investigations of the various (remnants of) buildings on the plateau: two temples (one for Ceres/Demeter, witness a bilingual inscription), the city wall with its gates (dating from the 4th century A.D. and enclosing a much reduced part of the urban space), stadium, theatre, gymnasion (?), main street (*plateia*) with stoas, a market-basilica (?), the aqueduct (ca 14 km. long, bringing water to the city from a spring in the village of Inay, north of the city, which is still active today; nowadays almost entirely demolished, whereas in the early 19th century Hamilton followed it over three miles!) and the Byzantine remains (predominantly traces of houses). A study of the tombs and an analysis of the various finds (sculpture, sarcophagi, coins, ceramics) follow. The book is concluded with some brief reflections on the urban development in Hellenistic and Roman times, the city's function in the region and a very welcome Appendix in which F. von Saldern presents 55 Greek and Latin inscriptions found in the city and its territory (44) and in some places in the vicinity north, south and west of the city, which probably belonged to other cities (Güllü, Çırpıcıllar, Eşme; 11). The quality of the figures, maps, photos and lay-out is simply superb and in line with the contents of the book.

The city started its existence as an indigenous settlement called Mlaundos and in the Hellenistic period became a Seleukid settlement of Macedonian veterans under the name Blaundos; the present ruins exclusively date from the Roman and Byzantine period. Nothing has been found which can be related to the pre-Hellenistic, let alone prehistoric, period. For the identity of the city the Macedonian origin remained essential. On coins and in inscriptions the citizens called themselves *Blaundeis Makedones*. In the Roman period Romans settled down in the area, whether as veterans (so p. 22) or as a result of private initiative (my own preference). In Inay a group of Romans, living there (*katoikountes*), is attested, and in the city itself quite a few individual Roman citizens are on record, both original 'Italians' and enfranchised Greeks; Latin inscriptions confirm the Romanization of the city. Italian and indigenous features are also observed by F. in the architecture of the city. Blaundos' coinage, except for a few late-Hellenistic specimens dating from the 1st to mid-3rd century AD, also mention quite a few enfranchised Greek magistrates. Roman settlers may well have been a crucial factor in explaining the growth and prosperity of Blaundos in the imperial age; a prosperity otherwise rather limited when compared to what happened in major cities like Hierapolis, Laodikeia, Sardis *vel sim.* but nevertheless prosperity. F. writes on 'kleine Impulse - auch von Seiten der römischen Machthaber -' which brought about an 'Eigendynamik' (p. 314). But the extant evidence points to individual Roman citizens of Italian descent financing the (re)construction of public buildings in the 1st century AD (Mummius Macer and Cn. Octavius), with an enfranchised Greek, Tib. Claudius Menekrates, as *epimeletes* (why F. writes about 'the son of a manumitted ('freigelassenen') provincial (Menekrates; p. 319) remains obscure to me). Evidence for emperors or governors injecting money into the Blaundian building projects is lacking for the 1st/2nd century AD. The Italian settlers may conceivably have raised the productivity of the land by applying Roman agronomic expertise. F. seems somewhat inconsistent here. On p. 316 he writes about the 'Finanzkraft einiger zugereisten Italiker', minimizing their role in the formation of the city's budget; on p. 319 one reads about a 'Zuzug von Italikern'; and on pp. 22/23 Von Saldern thinks in terms of a large number of Roman citizens.

In addition to the Romanization of Greeks, we also see the familiar Hellenization of Romans. C. Mummius Macer established a foundation for the provisioning of the local gymnasion of the *presbyteroi* with oil; far away from conservative circles in Rome, he was glad to support rather than criticize the body-culture of gymnasion-visitors. An inscription (Appendix no 18) records manumitted slaves of Macer honoring their patron in Greek; their master obviously did not impose Latin!

A few details to conclude with. The stadion is said to have measured 113 m; this elicits no more than the brief comment 'etwas zu kurz' from D. Roos, who knows that the average stadion is closer to 170-190 m than to 113 m. Blaundos does not seem to have organized any major 'international' athletic contest; the city probably restricted itself to purely local *agōnes*; in addition, the local gymnasion may have used the stadion for its own contests. Is that the reason why the Blaundians developed their own version of a stadion-race? Or has the measuring not been fully reliable? In the coin catalogue P. Matern maltreats some names. Coins with 'Apollo(ni) Theog' are assigned to 'Apollon Theogen[...]'; the magistrate is, of course, 'Apolloni(os), son of Theogenes', 'Theogen' being the abbreviation of Theogen(ou(s)). Similarly 'Aur. Papia. Er(Mo)' is not 'Aur. Papias Her(mou?)' but rather 'Aur. Papias Hermo(genes, *vel sim*)'. The non-initiated may not know that 'Ar. A.', recorded on many coins, stands for 'first archon' (*archōn prōtos*). The new bilingual epitaph no 29 (pp. 337/338) records a Lucius Peticius. The name is 'sehr selten im Osten belegt'. *SEG* XXXVIII 679/680 mention a Peticius in Stobi (Macedonia) as father of two Greek ephebes and, more interesting, XLII 1800 throws light on a merchant family of Peticii, which, however, does not justify the conclusion that *all* Peticii were *negotiatores*; some of them may have been involved in commerce. For brief comment on some of the inscriptions see G. Petzl, *Klio* 90 (2008) 262.

Filges and his colleagues have done a truly magnificent job; in ca three months they have studied the site in all its aspects thoroughly, published an exhaustive report on it in due course and tried to integrate the archaeological-epigraphical data into a general history of the city. F. writes that a survey in Blaundos' territory remains a desideratum (p. 318 note 1283). Let us hope that the resources and the time will be found which enable him and his collaborators to accomplish that survey.

H.W. Pleket

F. Işık, *Girlanden-Sarkophage aus Aphrodisias* (mit einem Beitrag zu den Inschriften von Joyce Reynolds und Charlotte Roueché), Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2007. XVI + 202 pp., 112 pls; 29 cm (Sarkophag-Studien 5). – ISBN 978-3-8053-3729-8.

This lavishly produced book consists of two parts. In the first F. Işik offers a detailed, art-historical analysis of 215 sarcophagi found in Aphrodisias and environs up to 1993. In a catalogue (105-143) he briefly describes and dates all these pieces; in the preceding pages (1-104) he points out that two main types of sarcophagi can be distinguished. Type I-pieces have heads (rams; bulls; Gorgos) carrying or supporting garlands, whereas in Type II the heads are replaced by complete figures ('Vollfiguren'). The latter type is subdivided into two categories: II 1 concerns sarcophagi with garlands on the upper part of the chest, just under (below) the rim, whereas in II 2 the garlands are located lower on the chest. Finally, II 2 has two variants: II 2 1 has in the centre a *tabula ansata* instead of a garland; in II 2 2 the 'Vollfiguren' are replaced by columns and pillars.

Işik argues that the various types were manufactured in three specialized workshops; one (A) for type I, another (B) for II 1 and a third (C) for II 2 1 and II 2 2. Workshop A was influenced by Ephesian ateliers and is termed 'ephesisch-aphrodisiastisch'. Only eighteen specimens belong to this category; workshop B is supposed to have been responsible for II 1 ('einheimisch-aphrodisiastisch'); workshop C produced II 2 (1 and 2), adopted motifs from colleagues in Rome and is therefore called 'römisch-aphrodisiastisch'. The general typology of Işik may be acceptable but why each type required a workshop of its own is not explained by him; it is simply an assumption. One large workshop with craftsmen capable of working in different styles is at least conceivable, the more so since specimens of B and C are frequently dated by I. to the same periods.

Işik invests much energy and even more acumen in the analysis of developments or changes in style-elements: garlands, heads, figures and their anatomy. He systematically locates specific developments in a highly detailed chronological sequence and never considers the possibility of a much broader and vaguer periodisation, let alone of a chronological iuxtaposition, i.e., of the simultaneousness of variations in the representation of specific style-elements. When it comes to the actual 'Datierungen' (38-41 for B; 67-77 for C), we get a very refined chronological system, often operating with periods of ten to twenty years. I cannot help feeling that all this results into a system of over- or perhaps even pseudo-precision. I give one example of workshop A, viz. sarcophagus no 5. On 10 Işik assigns this piece to the 'Anfang der Produktion', together with no 3 which he relates to a sarcophagus from Maionian Kula (precisely dated to 61/62 AD). On the same page, twenty-five lines lower, I. assigns it to the end of the 1st century AD (after the Flavian period of no 4; possibly 'late-Flavian' in the catalogue on 106) on the basis of minute developments in specific elements (grapes, garlands, heads and eyes). It remains obscure what precisely the basis is for a theory which relates such minute stylistic developments to specific decades in the 1st century AD. In this way Işik proposes a very precise chronology for the eighteen pieces of A all the way from 'Flavian', 'late-Flavian', 'Traianic', 'Hadrianic' to 'early-, middle- (160-170 AD) and late Antoninian' (170-190 AD).

The same chronological refinement is proposed for B and C, with the addition of 'early-, middle- and late-Severan', 'late Severan to post-Severan' (= 225-250 AD), 'Gallienic', 'post-Gallienic', 'Tetrarchic' and a 'Sonderkategorie' (250-300 AD). For these two groups we are fortunate in having quite a few sarcophagi with inscriptions, which are discussed by Reynolds and Roueché in Part II of this study.

Alltogether R./R. present 44 sarcophagi with inscriptions: twenty old and twenty-four new ones; among the

latter two are illegible (nos 109 and 186). R./R.'s corpus has the usual quality which we have come to expect from these two distinguished epigraphists: reliable texts, good translations, succinct but relevant commentaries, cautious dating and complete bibliography. In a brief section they discuss the criteria used for dating the inscriptions (nomenclature; eponymous officials; fines; lettering). Most texts are assigned to the 3rd century AD and further refinements (first half; second half; middle) are only proposed with caution.

Remarkably enough Işik rarely, if at all, confronts his own very detailed chronology, based on art-historical criteria, with that of the epigraphists. It must be said at once that in many cases Işik's dates can be accommodated within R./R.'s chronology. Işik dates no 104 to 200-210 AD, whereas R./R. propose '200-250 AD'; but for no 107 (*MAMA* VIII 566) the situation is less rosy for Işik, who dates it again to 200-210 AD. R./R. firmly and confidently propose 250-300 AD for the inscription; the text is not secondary and thus hardly later than the sarcophagus itself. An important element in R./R.'s proposal is the mention of an eponymous *stephanephoros* and the high probability that his tenure is to be dated to the period indicated by them (cf. also *SEG* LIV 1064). In this case the verdict must be that the art-historian should adapt himself to the epigraphists and not the other way round. I am unable to spell out the implications for Işik's entire chronological system but implications it is likely to have.

Another case in point is no 116, dated by Işik to the 'middle-Severan period' (210-225 AD). R./R. assign it to '200-250 AD'. So far, so good, except perhaps for the fact that Işik would be well advised to use longer timespans. There is more, however. R./R. point out that no 116 was found in the same chamber-tomb as the nos 173, 178 and 179 and that all four nos. should be 'approximately contemporary' (viz. ca 200-250 AD). Işik dates nos 173 and 178 to the time of Gallienus (250-270 AD) and no 179 to the 'frühgallienische' period (ca 250/255 AD', I suppose). These propositions are clearly at variance with the principle of 'simultaneousness' claimed by R./R. for all four numbers.

A similar case concerns nos 81 and 227. Işik dates no 81 to the very broad time-span 'Antoninisch bis tetrarchisch', viz. ca 140-300 AD, and no 127 to '210-225 AD' ('mittelseverisch'). R./R. point out that both sarcophagi were found in the same funerary court, are therefore likely to be roughly contemporary and date both numbers to the first half of the 3rd century AD. Işik's date for no 127 can be integrated into R./R.'s scheme, though one wonders whether the epigraphic date would not have been more cautious, but why does he not adapt his suggestion for no 81 to that scheme? It would have narrowed down the very loose and imprecise '140-300 AD' considerably.

Comparable discrepancies occur with nos 110 and 112 ('mittelseverisch', i.e., 210-225 AD; ca 250 AD, R./R.), no 142 (250-270 AD according to Işik, whereas R./R. propose the 4th century AD), no 155 (270-300 AD versus 200-250 AD) and no 156 (190-200 AD versus 200-250 AD).

Işik undoubtedly has a sharp eye and an admirable sensitivity for changes and developments in the representations of specific ornaments on sarcophagi. He describes them very precisely and succinctly. Especially to be recommended are his observations on the representations and meaning of the various objects on the sarcophagi (wreaths; rosettes; masks; sphinxes etc.) which I cannot discuss here due to constraints of space. But I am not sure that his subtle art-historical analysis can support the very (and in my view over-) precise chronology he proposes for his sarcophagi. Fine-tuning with the epigraphists would have been desirable.

H.W. Pleket

J. Bintliff/Ph. Howard/A. Snodgrass (with contributions from O. Dickinson, M. Gillings, J. Hayes, R. Schiel and J. Vroom), *Testing the hinterland. The work of the Boeotia Survey (1989-1991) in the southern approaches to the city of Thespiai*. Cambridge, UK: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, 2007. XVIII, 320 pp., 458 figs, 47 tab.; 28.5 cm. – ISBN 1-902937-37-6.

The Boeotia survey started in 1979. Large blocks of landscape, incorporating the territory of Thespiai, Haliartos, Hyettos and the sites of the cities themselves, have been intensively surveyed in the 1980s and 1990s. The directors of the survey decided to publish the results in a series of free-standing volumes before embarking upon the publication of a single, synthetic volume. The volume under review is the first in that series and deals with a relatively small section of Thespiai's territory south of the city, ca 5.2 km^2 (ca 520 ha) large and systematically explored in 1989 and 1991. Let it be said at once that the authors are to be praised for their attempt to integrate the results of their survey into a general account of the ups and downs of the history of Boeotia in general and Thespiai in particular over a long period, with special reference to demographic problems and their impact on the cultivation and organization of the country-side. They are familiar with the main publications in the field of ancient history and archaeology on these problems in Greece in general. They use a detailed catalogue of the findings in the territory surveyed to present a long-term sort of 'histoire totale' of the area concerned. Not all archaeologists try so emphatically to transcend the purely descriptive level of the catalogue.

In this survey two field techniques were pioneered in combination: registration and dating of all the scattered artefacts and their relation to the locations identified as 'sites'; the latter 'become "peaks" on a quantitative "contour" map of density' (9). All this is expected to yield 'a multi-layered interpretation - - - in which the "sites" can be fully integrated into the surrounding terrain in terms of landscape history, intensity of agricultural exploitation, functional role, relation to urban centres, and several other aspects' (XVII). This is a truly ambitious claim; and the innocent reader gets excited about the prospect of an 'histoire totale' of the Boeotian agro-towns, written largely on the basis of an analysis of the countless, uninscribed ceramic artefacts found in varying degrees of density. In this project new technology, from computer data bases to GIS (GIS standing for Geographical Information System) analysis allowing to relate spatial to archaeological data, plays a prominent role. All this makes up for ca 320 pages of

hard, pretty technical reading; fortunately, the hard core of the book consists of 182, otherwise very dense, pages, the rest being devoted to a huge 'detailed site-by-site analysis' (183-312), which in fact is an elaboration of chapter 6 ('The analysis of the individual sites'; 43-94). To complete the technological miracle a CD is offered, pasted at the inside of the back cover of the book; the present reviewer is old-fashioned and restricted himself to close reading of the printed pages!

The basis of the authors' exercise consists of ceramic finds in the area concerned. Field-walking produced these finds. Each walker is held to have seen a 2 m wide strip, with 15 m intervals between them. The number of sherds observed on the strip has been extrapolated over the remaining 13 m (4). Now on the whole I have always liked students; nevertheless, I am pragmatic enough to be skeptical about the degree of accuracy of the walkers; some may have seen more than others and all may have suffered from an occasional lack of concentration while walking under the burning sun in the Thespian fields. Our skepticism grows when we hear that a more intensive and time-consuming counting process on a specific site 'increases the field-walking figures by an average factor of 2.5 (23)'. Worse, not all walkers may have been equally competent in recognizing different ceramic types. On 13, in the context of a section on prehistoric and other periods, the authors are aware of this 'lack of recognition'; are they sure that for the classical/early Hellenistic periods this lack is negligeable? Anyhow, the extrapolation of potentially inaccurate observations and findings over long stretches outside the strip controlled by the walker, merely increases the risk of such observations. At all costs, and for reasons to be analyzed further down, the authors want to have an area with as dense a carpet of ceramics as possible. In order to achieve this they introduce three factors. First, the visibility-factor: vegetation obscures the soil surface; the authors present a visibility estimate on a scale from 1 to 10; visibility 1 turns a count of twenty artefacts into 200 artefacts etc. etc. In my view this is just pseudo-precision; visibility can be designed behind a comfortable desk but I doubt whether such an estimate can be applied to actual vegetation while walking through fields; second, a so-called enhancement factor: more intensive study leads to 2.5 times more ceramics being found than field walkers noticed in a locality; finally, the 'plough soil' factor: only one-sixth of the plough-soil artefacts are detectable by field walking. This exercise in the end yields ca twenty million sherds for 5.2 km^2. Assumptions and extrapolations reign supreme here. Other survey-archaeologists should give their verdict on this point. I am left with a feeling of uneasiness, possibly due to lack of competence in such matters. Whatever the quantitative truth, the authors are probably right in pointing out that there was 'a dense carpet of ceramics' in the area concerned. They distinguish ca 18 so-called sites in an ocean of off-site scatters. As to the latter they understandably wonder how to explain the over-all ceramic density in the area. They come up once more with their 'manure-hypothesis'. Urban-based landowners were in the habit of 'exporting' urban refuse (cf. 'the wastes of the human population', 105) to their rural estates. Intense manuring allowed a system of annual cropping rather than the system of alternating crop and fallow; annual cropping was necessary to feed Thespiai's growing population. I suppose that the manure consisted predominantly of the excrements of human beings (and perhaps an occasional domestic animal (cf. the reference to 'night-soil' on 105)). However, Xenophon's dungheap seems to have been a compost heap of vegetable refuse, not of animal (or human) dung (*Oeconomicus* 20.10; cf. S. Isager/J.E. Skydsgaard, *Ancient Greek Agriculture. An introduction* (1992), 111). Does Xenophon's dung have enough fertilizing power and is there evidence that the ancients systematically mixed dung (of whatever kind) with ceramic waste? The manure-hypothesis needs support from historians of Greek agriculture but the authors do not invoke their help. Isager/Skydsgaard, *op.cit.*, *ibidem*, write that possibly sherds may have been distributed along with manure from stables; but Bintliff *cum suis* do not believe that in the city of Thespiai (or on its territory, for that matter) animals were kept in stables! The otherwise informative chapter by R. Shiel and A. Stewart on the soils and agricultural potential of the area (ch. 7; 95-109, especially 107/108) does not really help the reader for this problem.

More important is the discovery of ca 18 sites, some of them with 'haloes' around them, characterized by a significant larger density of sherds than in the off-site areas. In their 6th chapter on the analysis of the individual sites they present several options for the function of those sites: estate centre (in one case even the estate of a 'moderately wealthy Thespian family' (45); cf. also 132: 'a suburban estate'), medium farm, hamlet of independent farmers. At the same time the authors candidly admit that Thespiai was an agro-town, whose inhabitants in majority were commuting farmers (24). All the sites were located on walking-distance from the city, certainly not 'beyond the threshold at which the distance from Thespiai reached the point where urban farmers were largely replaced by those living in rural nucleations and farms' (136). What the authors write about two specific sites (LSE 1 and 3) is in fact applicable to the whole area surveyed by them: 'we had not expected to find classical farm sites in this zone' (135; cf. also 73 on site THS 12: 'unexpected, so close to the city'). I would go one step further and argue that to postulate 18 rural sites in an area, at most 1-3 km. from the city, is at variance with the theory of agro-towns inhabited by farmers, who in such an area are not likely to have built farms: in addition to being unexpected such farms would have to be characterized as 'highly improbable, perhaps even unacceptable'. The authors, however, are hypnotized by the idea that their sites, characterized by a significant density of sherds, must have been inhabited permanently by people. But why not follow the above-mentioned principle and seek another explanation for the density of sherds on a given location? Semi-permanent shelters or barns *vel sim*. And why did the authors not organize a couple of quick trial-excavations on a couple of sites?

This is the more remarkable, because in the case of site THS 11 the authors, on the basis of the presence of funerary ware, had concluded that it was a cemetery; a conclusion subsequently confirmed by excavations, conducted in 1981 by Andreiomenou and reported in *AD* 36 (1981) [1988] B 1 186.187 (70 and 266-271). A.'s report was unknown to the authors when they sug-

gested identifying the site as a small cemetery. Was it impossible to organize such trial-digs or is it a certain aversion to excavating archaeologists, which led the authors to base their history on ceramic finds only? In a recent newspaper-interview (*NRC*, Dec. 2, 2008) Bintliff was far from kind to such colleagues: they were narrow-minded, (i.e., they do not look beyond their own excavations), competitive and hardly prone to collaborate with colleagues from elsewhere. In two years B. had clarified two thousand years of the history of both the territory and the city of Koroneia, whereas Americans needed a century to shed light on the history of a small part of the city of Corinth. B. fails to realize that the Corinthian excavations enabled us to study many more aspects of the history and *society* of a major city in much more details than B.'s 'skeletal' reconstruction of Koroneia's history, which amounts to no more than an account on the lay-out of the city, the position of houses, the size and cultivation of the territory of the city, and hypotheses about demographic developments. The *society* of Koroneia is hardly illuminated by this sort of archaeology.

Whatever the reason, the authors preferred to stand by their interpretation of the sites as 'residential foci' (146). Various sites previously held to be estates are gradually and very hypothetically transformed into hamlets inhabited by poor peasants well under hoplite-status and owning initially 3.6, but in the final analysis, a mere and very hypothetical 2.3 ha, not enough to survive on with a family of 4/5 persons. As a result these peasants were forced to earn some supplementary income by working as dependent labourers on the estates of the richer, urban-based and commuting citizens. But again, why should sub-hoplite peasants, in contrast with their somewhat more well-to-do fellow-citizens, have felt the necessity to build a 'residential focus' on a site on walking distance from the city, thereby demolishing the authors' own thesis about commuting farmers living in the city and walking (or riding on a donkey) to their fields in close proximity to the city? The decision to shift from 'estate-centres' (cf. the above-mentioned moderately wealthy Thespian family) to 'hamlets' finds in my view no justification in the quantity and quality of the ceramic findings but is simply a function of the thesis concerning the poor peasants/labourers. Strangely enough, on their tabular survey on 172 the authors also posit the existence of two medium-farms; are their inhabitants also sub-hoplite peasants or are they more well-to-do? And if the latter were true, why on earth did they decide to build a farm instead of commuting from the city?

In short: I am not at all sure that the inspiring reconstruction of the history of part of Thespiai's territory is really based on reliable foundations. I do hope (and even wish) that rapid trial-excavations à la Andreiomenou will soon show that I am too sceptical about the authors' ultimate interpretation of most of the sites as the homes of a small number of poor peasants/labourers. Even so, *mutatis mutandis*, the salutary warning of a British archaeologist deserves to be mentioned: 'you can dig up a villa but you cannot dig up its land-tenure' (quoted in *JRA* 2008, 482).

H.W. Pleket

WINFRIED HELD, *Gergakome. Ein 'altehrwürdiges' Heiligtum im kaiserzeitlichen Karien*. Tübingen: Ernst Wasmuth Verlag GmbH & Co., 2008. 220 pp., 250 figs, 1 map; 30 cm (Istanbuler Forschungen 49). – ISBN 978-3-8030-1770-3/ISSN 0723-4333.

Gergakome is an isolated site in northwest Caria, off the main roads, in a mountainous region covered with gneiss-rocks and, at least in antiquity, pines and cedars. The place has been visited at the end of the 19th century by the Frenchman Cousin and in the 20th century by Alfred Laumonier and George Bean. Held presents the results of his visits to the site in September 1989 and 1994 (cf. already a brief report by H. summarized in *SEG* XLV 1511). Gergakome in fact is a precinct, ca 1 km² large, surrounded by a long terrace-wall and containing remains of several buildings, three large statues, a couple of chambers built in the terrace-wall, and a series of stelai which originally stood on the wall. The state of the ruins is rather depressing. Gneiss is not an attractive stone in appearance; the ruins have suffered from the, alas, usual illegal activities of the Turkish peasants (cf. H.'s reference to 'Raubgrabungen' on 18, 33 and 101!). What are we to make of this site?

The dominant building is Held's 'Bau I', well preserved but small in size: ca 7½ m long and 4.85 m wide; on a sort of pediment above the entrance there is a Greek inscription in huge letters (50 cm high): Gergas. Incidentally, there are on the site alltogether 43 inscriptions with the words Gerga(s), Gergakom(e) or Gergaskome. 'Bau I' has been interpreted by earlier scholars as a tomb, a temple-tomb or a temple. H. convincingly argues that it is a small temple, probably of the mother-goddess Kybele. The other buildings (nos II-XIV) are fountain-houses (four certain; four probable), a (farm)-house, a building with an oil- or wine-press, and chambers cut into the terrace-wall; all described in great detail and illustrated with magnificent photos and maps. Careful analysis of the architecture and building-techniques shows that the entire precinct has been constructed in the Roman Imperial period in a deliberately archaizing style. Analysis of the lettering of the inscriptions is H.'s main prop for a date in the 2nd/3rd century AD (145/146). I am, however, not so sure that H.'s criteria are sound. Cursive letters (sigma, omega) already occurred in Hellenistic texts. In the photos presented by H. there are hardly apices; alpha has either a broken or a straight cross-bar, and thus hardly provides a chronological clue; photo and drawing of inscription no 11 (110/111), with small hanging omicrons, definitely do not recall the 2nd/3rd century AD. At best the inscriptions perhaps justify a general and rather vague date in the Roman period (ca 1st-3rd century AD). The temple (and all other buildings, for that matter) has been made exclusively from stone; traces of timber are absent. This testifies to what H. nicely terms a certain 'lithomania' on the site; the many uninscribed stone stelai erected in and around the precinct underline this mania, which befits the goddess of the 'rocky' mountains. Three huge statues, ca 4.5 m high, have been found in the precinct: one of Kybele, quite close to the temple, one of Apollo (with the inscription Gergakome) and the third of Dionysos (with Gerga).

Remarkable is the large number of 'fountain-houses' ('Quellenhaüser'); one of them is adorned with lions' heads possibly to be connected with the main deity of the precinct; in addition to fountains there are near the temple two water basins. H. suggests that some fountains, located near the entrance of the precinct (no IV, XI (c) and XII), may have been used for ritual cleansing; the water basins fulfilled the same function for those entering the temple. But some fountains are neither at the entrance of the temple nor are they likely to have fed the basins; perhaps some fountains served secular purposes like agriculture.

As said before, H. interprets one building as a farmhouse, whereas in another one an oilpress had been installed; moreover, a threshing floor, found just outside the temenos-wall, points to cereiculture, for which some irrigation may have been useful. H. (130/131) suggests that grain-growing was practiced on 'flacheren Hanglager' just outside the precinct.

As to the inscriptions H. favors the suggestion made by predecessors to connect Gerga with Kar, the archetypical deity of the Carians. He combines this with Masson's idea that in various near-eastern languages Carians are denoted with variations on the root *kark*. Gerga is a variant of the indigenous deity Kar(k) and may have served as an epithet of Kybele, just as Zeus occasionally carried the epithet Karios. One inscription is atypical: 'Gerga embolo', interpreted by H. as 'Gerga embolo(s)'; *embolos* denotes a 'keilförmige(r) Felsvorsprung' or the 'Spitze des Tal-Keils'. Such an interpretation fits the location of Gergakomē.

The status of Gergakomē is mysterious. It is, of course, a village, possibly in my view a sort of sacred village centered around the sanctuary of Kybele Gergas; but whether it is an independent entity or part of the territory of a neighboring city remains obscure. The place does not occur in Chr. Schuler's monograph on *Siedlungen und Gemeinden in Kleinasien* (Munich 1998). In one very fragmentary inscription, now lost (F 23), the word *[stepha]nephoro[n]* can be discerned: a magistrate typical of a city, not of villages. To which city does it refer? And, if we knew, would it imply that G. belonged to that city? In the next line of the same fragment the Greek letters *]geni[* occur, followed by what earlier scholars read as an upsilon plus lambda, with a horizontal stroke above it. Here speculation sets in: first *sug]geni[a* is restored which is possible but far from certain. *Sungeniai*, in origin clan-like entities, are known to have administered rural sanctuaries in Caria; UL has been interpreted as abbreviation of (H)yllarima, a city ca 15/20 km east of G.; H. prefers a correction AL, implying a reference to Alabanda, a somewhat bigger city about the same distance from G. westward. This is intriguing but speculative to the extreme. H. goes even one speculative step further. He believes that the construction of the site of Gergakomē was the work of a *syngeneia* of sophists who wanted to promote a specifically Carian variant of the revival of the worship of ancient Greek gods and myths, so typical of the 'renaissance' of the Second Sophistic: a sort of German 'Verein für Heimatkunde' avant-la-lettre! A Carian variant is attractive, given the ubiquity of 'Gerga'-inscriptions but a group of archaising sophists, at home in one of the neighboring cities and wanting to boost the local identity of the population, is definitely a step too far. But H. surely has a point in locating the archaising cult of Gergakom in the context of an increasing focus on the worship of age-old deities in the Roman Imperial period in general and in the Second Sophistic in particular with its increasing interests in the historical roots of contemporary Hellenism. Recently J. Nollé in his *Kleinasiatische Losorakel* (Munich 2007) 288, pointed out that 'Die Zweite Sophistik - - - stärkte die Popularität der alten Götterbilder und Mythen und wurde - - - zu einem Jungbrunnen für die überkommene Religiosität'. H.'s study corroborates this view.

In a final chapter H. reports on the examination of archaeological remains, partly already visited by earlier travellers, in the environs of Gergakomē: a number of ancient farmsteads, remains of a spectacular aqueduct provisioning Alabanda with water in the Roman Imperial period and a couple of fortification-towers built in the late classical-Hellenistic period to protect road-traffic. An intensive survey needs still to be executed, as H. himself candidly concedes.

As said before, H. firmly dates buildings and inscriptions of Gergakomē to the Roman Imperial period; nowhere, if I do not err, does he refer to earlier vestiges. I suppose that it is only some form of excavation which can clarify the 'pre-history' of Gergakomē, if there is any. Whereas on 157-175 he collects interesting evidence on the *re*vitalization (italics are mine, HWP) of age-old cults in Asia Minor in the Imperial period, Gergakomē remains the exception where apparently, so to speak, *ex nihilo* a sanctuary was created. This sounds too exceptional to be really acceptable. More work needs to be done on the site.

H.W. Pleket

NORA M. DIMITROVA, *Theoroi and Initiates in Samothrace. The epigraphical evidence*. Princeton, N.J., American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2008. 280 pp., 133 figs; 28 cm (Hesperia Supplement 37). – ISBN 978-0-87661-537-9

Samothrace was a popular place for pilgrims in antiquity. The mystery-cult in the precinct of the Great Gods was the attraction par excellence. On the one hand cities were in the habit of sending sacred ambassadors (*theoroi*) to the island, on the other initiates (*mystai* (first grade) and *epoptai* (second grade)) both individually and in groups flocked to the island. Excavations have yielded dozens of inscriptions recording members of both groups. Some have been published in *IG* XII 8 (Berlin 1909); others, found during the American excavations in the precinct, can be found in P.M. Fraser's *The inscriptions on stone* (New York 1960; vol. 2.1 of *Samothrace. Excavations conducted by the Institute of Fine Arts of New York University*). Together with 32 new texts (twenty-two Greek; six Latin; four bilingual) D. now presents the entire dossier of 171 inscriptions. Twenty-seven texts concern the so-called *theoroi* sent by a variety of cities to Samothrace; 138 are lists of initiates and four are miscellaneous: two are brief prohibition texts ('the uninitiated is not allowed to enter the sanctuary') and the other two are a decree of Samothrace for a Ptolemaic official

who had himself initiated in the mysteries during a stay on the island and a fragmentary decree of Odessos concerning the Odessitans' participation in the same mysteries.

In addition D. draws some conclusions concerning 'the religious functions of the sanctuary and the people who came to experience the religion of Samothrace' (1). Two maps on 2/3 visualize the provenance of *theoroi* and initiates alike: most of them came from Asia Minor and the Aegean islands, some from cities in Moesia and northwestern Greece and very few from the southern part of the Greek continent. Brief sections deal with the function of the *theoroi*, the social status of the initiates, the stages of initiation ('*myesis* = initiation of the blinded ones', and '*epopteia* = initiation of the viewers') and the annual festival to which the *theoroi* were sent.

D. has an interesting section on the function of *theoroi*. In the Samothracian texts they clearly are sacred envoys sent by their home-cities to attend religious celebrations and to bring sacrifices. In other inscriptions *theoroi* are attested as eponymous officials ('overseers') or as special envoys sent by their cities to announce festivals organized by those same cities and to invite the host-cities to send their representatives.

A small detail: on 16 D. discusses Ephesian inscriptions recording *theoroi* at the Olympic Games. Although D. appropriately quotes L. Robert, *OMS* V 669-674, the reader is left with the impression that we have Ephesian envoys sent to the Olympic Games (in Elis) as representatives of their city. Most of these envoys, however, as D. correctly observes, are women. Robert has shown that they were allowed to be present and to 'watch' the Olympic Games in Ephesos itself. The Ephesian Olympia were a copy of the original Peloponnesian Games; the Ephesian *theoroi* were the equivalent of the priestess of Demeter who in Olympia was officially allowed to 'watch the Olympic Games'. This sort of '*theoria*' has nothing to do with the two above-mentioned categories of *theoroi*.

In which festival the *theoroi* were supposed to participate in Samothrace? Since some *theoroi* are also called *mystai/epoptai*, one would like to believe that they attended a festival called 'ta Mysteria'. Curiously enough, the lists of *theoroi* or initiates tell us nothing about this problem. One funerary epigram (no 29 apud D.) mentions the initiation in the mysteries of Kabiros or rather of the two Kabiroi, who are identical with the 'Great Gods' of Samothrace, often mentioned in inscriptions and literary sources; and there is one Koan inscription (no 2 in D.'s Appendix I; *SEG* LIII 848) which tells us that a Koan *theoros* had been sent to Samothrace to be present at the [- - -]ia: an exasperating irony of history that it is precisely at a crucial place on the stone that a few letters are missing. D. convincingly defends the view that [ta Dionus]ia is to be restored and points out that relations between Dionysos and mysteries (Eleusinian and Samothracian) are close. The theatre in which the performances of the Dionysia took place was located in the precinct of the Great Gods. During their mission at the Dionysia some *theoroi* used the opportunity to have themselves initiated in the mysteries; initiation was possible throughout the sailing season and not exclusively during the day(s) of the Dionysia.

Some *theoroi* were honored by the Samothracians with the *proxenia*. Their lists were inscribed on the wall of a building in the city rather than in the sanctuary. D. concludes (72) that their visits 'had a primarily political purpose'. I prefer to stick to the meaning of 'sacred envoy'. There are inscriptions from other cities in which '*presbeutai kai theoroi*' are mentioned (15/16), which means that in those cities a political mission (*presbeutai*) had been added to the sacred one (*theoroi*). The *theoroi* fulfilled a sacred mission and could be rewarded with a political function (*proxenia*).

D.'s corpus is on the whole excellent: very precise, based on autopsy of the stones and squeezes if possible, and illustrated with very good photos. In her commentaries she gives detailed and relevant information, especially about the many names in the lists and possible connections between theoroi/initiates and other, homonymous persons on record in the epigraphy of the city from which the *theoroi*/initiates came. Her views about the two stages of initiation and about the chronology of the mysteries (cf. above: 'throughout the sailing season') are on the whole convincing. Initiation was big business on the island and therefore it was not limited to just one period during the official festival of the Dionysia.

The dispatch of *theoroi* (or *hieropoioi* in the case of Rhodes and Kyzikos) stopped in the Late Hellenistic period; the registration of groups of *theoroi* was replaced by the inscription of lists of initiates, individuals or members of a household or the crew of a ship. Quite a few slaves and freedmen are among the initiates. Incidentally, some lists provide interesting evidence for the size of the retinue of rich slave-owners. Why did the lists of *theoroi* stop? There is no reason to suppose that it is merely the 'epigraphic habit' which changed. D. does not provide an answer to the question. A possible answer could be that from the Late Roman republican period the Samothracian festval (the Dionysia) to which *theoroi* used to be sent, lost the battle with the steadily increasing number of internationally renowned festivals-cum-contests (musical; athletic), to which cities preferred to send their sacred envoys in order to participate in the religious ceremonies (*synthusia vel sim.*). Samothrace played no role in the extensive calendar of athletic and musical contests in the Roman period; incidentally, the same is true for Samothracian athletes and artists. The mysteries themselves remained popular and private people continued to flock to the island, as the lists of initiates show; for initiation the celebration of and participation in the Dionysia were not indispensable.

The following texts elicit some comment. In the list of *theoroi* in **no 8** I notice an entry Apollõ Archepolidos. With that accentuation Apollo is a female name; *theoroi*, however, are invariably men in the Samothracian lists. Apollõ as a male name does occur but only in the Late Imperial period as equivalent of Apollōs (cf. H. Youtie, *AJPh* 1941, 502-504; *BE* 1987 no 721). I take it that Apollõ is either a misprint or an abbreviation of Apollṓ(nios); an alternative is Apóllō[n] or Apollõ[s] (for the latter see now M. Arslan, *Gephyra* 2, 2005, 173/174). **No 35** is a fragmentary list of initiates. In the left column one reads in the first line: 'from Azorion [a Macedonian city], *strategos* of the Tripolitai and *hoplophoros* Parmeniskos, the attendant (*akolouthos*) Menandros'. D. does not comment on *hoplophoros*. I suggest that the name of the *strategos*

stood in the missing line above L. 1: 'so-and-so --- strategos---, and his "arms-bearer" Parmeniskos and his attendant Menandros'. Our Thessalian grandseigneur had at his disposal both a private 'body-guard' and a personal attendant taking care of things other than safety. *Akolouthoi* are frequently on record in the lists of initiates. In **no 39** we find an initiate Asklepiodotos from Perinthos (L. 6), together with 'Myron, son of Proklos, trophimos of Asklepiodotos'. In her commentary D. writes about A.'s 'household-slave'; however, *trophimos* denotes a foster-son, not a slave (cf. *SEG* XXXIX 1240). For **no 54** see now *SEG* LIV 813. In **no 56** a more serious problem deserves our attention. This text records an initiate (both *mystēs* and *epoptēs*) from Kyzikos. The man was an architect and had been sent to Samothrace on the island's request ('according to the embassy of the dēmos of the Samothracians'; so F. on 246) 'on account of the [---] | poia and the hierai eikones'. From **nos 50** and **58** it appears that Rhodes and Kyzikos were in the habit of sending *hieropoioi* to Samothrace instead of *theoroi*. Although D. in her commentary on **no 56** rejects P.M. Fraser's heneka tēs h̥i[ero] | poías, she writes in her commentary on **no 50** that the office of *hieropoioi* is recorded in **no 56**; in her commentary on **no 56** she refers for the office of *hieropoios* to **no 50**. In my view in **no 56** there is no question at all of a Kyzikene *hieropoios/theoros*. We have a case of a technical expert sent to Samothrace for construction and/or repair activities in the temple in general and concerning the 'sacred images' (sc. of the Kabiroi) in particular (cf. *IG* I^3 81 LL. 5-14: carrying of images in the secret part of the Eleusinian mysteries: see K. Clinton, 'Epiphany in the Eleusinian mysteries', *Yale Classical Studies* 29, 2004, 85-109). *IG*'s restoration tēs n[eo] | poias looks attractive from my point of view; after tēs there is a vertical hasta on the stone. On 246 D. calls our architect 'head of a delegation from Kyzikos'. In LL. 15-24 there are remnants of names. Those people may have been members of his building-team. Our architect's job probably necessitated a long stay on the island, so that he could participate in two separate initiation ceremonies: one for the *mystēs*, the other and later one for the *epoptēs*. The architect was neither a *theoros* nor a *hieropoios*. **No 107** (Latin) contains a list of Roman initiates, all of them slaves of a prosperous household. Their master(s) were mentioned in the missing lines. One of the slaves is *a linteis* ('in charge of the linen materials'; so D. on 195). The best parallel is the Greek *lintearios*, known from inscriptions pertaining to gymnasia, baths and visiting ephebes (cf. *BE* 1976 no 749): slaves responsable for linen goods (towels etc.) in those institutions; the Samothracian slave was responsible for the 'linen-cupboard' of a Roman household.

H.W. Pleket

STEFAN SCHMIDT, *Rhetorische Bilder auf attischen Vasen, Visuelle Kommunikation im 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 2005. 329 pp., 137 figs; 25 cm. – ISBN 3-496-02776-2.

Schmidt's study attempts to apply rhetoric concepts to examples of Attic vase-painting. S. starts his foray into visual communication of Attic images with a methodological account. With feeling and depth he sketches the intellectual climate in later 5th-century Athens, illustrating it with the Socratic discussions in the shop of shoemaker Simon. There, people from several layers of Athenian society met to discuss all matters of importance. This open and discussion-rich atmosphere led to a systematic exploration of *rhetoric* - always of importance in Greek culture and politics, only now the prime subject of learning for the Athenian citizen.

In antiquity, the visual never attracted the systematic attention devoted to the spoken word. The rare instances in literature need thorough interpretation before revealing the development towards a conscious manipulation of visual means of communication. It shows a shift from formal appreciation (Homer, Hesiod) towards a judgment based on (moral) content (Gorgias, Plato, Aristotle).

S. gives good arguments to limit his survey to a small number of Attic shapes (lekythos, pyxis, chous, louthrophoros and hydria). The sculptures of the Parthenon, to name but one obvious candidate for rhetorical analysis of Greek art, are hardly representative in their complexity. The field of Attic vase-painting provides a cornucopia of images, and makes it possible to follow the development of shapes and themes over hundreds of years. In contrast to Webster and Hoffman, S. finds it is impossible to make generalized statements about the functions of vessels. For each shape, the evidence from actual use has to be evaluated, and the function of most vessels does not appear to be constant over time.

The central point of the study is the problematization of the relation of decoration and function from the rhetorical point of view. S. mentions the studies of Scheibler (*JdI* 102, 1987, 57-118; *AntK* 43, 2000, 17-43), Shapiro (in J. Oakley/W. Coulson/O. Pelagia (eds), *Athenian Potters and Painters*, Oxford, 1997, 63-70) and Bentz (*Panathenäische Preisamphoren*, Basel, 1998), but he does not analyze their methodology. And that is a shame, because his own approach is superior to the earlier attempts. A thorough analysis would surely bring to light some of the risks involved in this approach. The same applies to the general methodological background. S. mentions and defends Barthes' *rhétorique de l'image* (11-12), 'allerdings ohne dass wir dessen semiotischer Vokabular im einzelnen übernähmen' but fails to mentions what valuable insights he derives from Barthes and what part of his vocabulary he adopts. Besides, semiotics is not just a vocabulary one can partly adapt, but a distinctive way of looking at the objects. Other theories of communication remain virtually untouched. S.'s framework is thus limited to a canonically Classical interpretation of rhetoric.

Apart from these drawbacks, his basic approach seems sound. The question to be answered is whether one can trace the mechanics of and the changes in rhetoric in the actual images.

For the shapes, I will focus on lekythoi. Above all, S. stresses the change in function from a general oil-container to a ritual grave-vessel and even a monument. In black-figure it was a oil-container for daily use, as the finds from the Agora show, and their iconography was general (31, 37-40). This analysis, however, does not take into account that the iconography of black-figure lekythoi start to show a specific

iconography quite early on. The important and numerous Phanyllis Class (dating around 530-510 BC) is subdivided in 'arming' and 'hoplite leaving home' groups, after their predominant imagery. Hardly suitable subjects for an everyday oil-container, but quite apt if understood in a funerary context, not just as 'Lebensbild', but also as farewell-image. The dominant presence of Dionysos and Dionysiac themes (more frequent on lekythoi than on cups) demands an explanation (my suggestion points to a funerary sense, see Van de Put 2009 in E.M. Moormann/V.V. Stissi (eds), *Shapes and Images*, Louvain 2009, 37-43). A more precise categorization of motifs and statistical analysis would have helped S.'s argument. Now it seems that S. denies the possibility of a funerary iconography for black-figure lekythoi. His analysis of white-ground lekythoi, on the other hand, makes exemplary use of contextual information in a convincing sketch of the change in meaning and use in the course of the 5th century BC. Here, he makes a clear point for his central thesis: the change from rather unspecified images to pictures aimed at conveying lasting remembrance, social continuity and faithful adherence to cultic duties of those left behind. Stressing the programmatic coherence of sets of lekythoi belonging to one grave, S. seems to underestimate the ambiguity of certain images. He interprets Athens 19353, where a chlamys-clad, spear-carrying youth confronts a sitting woman, as a courting scene (68), because he reconstructs a deceased newly-wed in the iconographic program. The parting of a warrior however is a much more common interpretation in scenes like these (see J. Oakley, *Picturing Death in Classical Athens*, 2004, 61-62). It seems obvious that ambiguity enlarged the applicability of the imagery, so that the painters served a larger market. It is an interesting possibility that the customers made use of this ambiguity to assemble an appropriate set.

The other shapes (pyxides, louthrophoroi, choes and hydriae) show above all the need for contextual analysis for each shape. All the examples show different developments, even though they have a 'bewussten Reflexion der kommunikativen Mittel' and a tendency towards symbolic use in common, noticeable in a heightened attention to the images, concentration on a smaller range of themes and experimentation with new visual strategies (279-282).

S. has written a very valuable, thought-provoking and enlightening study, which would have gained from a greater attention to the theoretical framework and a more precise quantitative analysis of the iconographic data.

Winfred van de Put

FEDERICA WIEL-MARIN, *La ceramica attica a figure rosse di Adria, La famiglia Bocchi e l'archeologia*. Padova: Coop. Libreria Editrice Università di Padova (CLEUP), 2005. 648 pp., figs, drawings; 25 cm. – ISBN 88-7178-575-4.

Wiel-Marin took on the gargantuan task of presenting and commenting on all the red-figure fragments from the early collecting efforts of the Bocchi family of Adria. She has done so admirably, but she did more than presenting the fragments. The first 80 pages are devoted to the history of the extraordinary Bocchi family, starting in the late 17th century and continuing into the last. This family not only made pioneering efforts in archaeology, but also formed an early collection with unique focus for the time: instead of hunting for ceramic treasures or at least limiting their collection to complete vases of some quality, the collection comprised fragments from the living quarters of the ancient town of Adria. Unfortunately, no records remain of the exact find spots of the objects. Another important contribution of the Bocchi family was the foundation of the local historical museum, 'il patrio-Domestico Museo', as early as 1770 (24). It remained very much a family matter, and in 1787 a guest-book is initiated for the Museo Bocchi, a good guide through the history of the museum (26). In 1902, the Bocchi collection was sold to the municipality, allowing the institution of the Museo Civico. W.-M. also devotes attention to the excavations conducted by family members and the administration of both digs and collection.

This story of the Bocchi family is timely, as the interest in the history of collections is on the rise, witness the Lasimos project (most recently, http://www.cvaonline.org/cva/authors/lasimos.pdf). W.-M. makes no effort to place the family in a wider context of antiquarian interest and history of collecting, and the immense effort of the publishing of the collection is a good excuse for that. The present work is an excellent starting point for further exploration.

The catalogue, fully illustrated, contains almost 2500 numbers. Among these are numerous undistinguished fragments (e.g. nos 1948-2457 are kylix fragments with only tondo meanders for preserved decoration). The inclusion of these (in contrast to the earlier CVA fascicule) is laudible, as they give a more complete picture of the collecting activities of the Bocchis, and there is enough of interest in the remainder of the material.

Another interesting aspect is the range of shapes and painters and their frequency. W.-M. analyzes these thoroughly (58-68, 72-73, 88-89). Almost three-quarters of the shapes preserved belong to drinking vessels, and this dominance is maintained from the last quarter of the 6th century BC to the first half of the 4th - a late classical continuation, albeit on a lower quantitative and qualitative level, which in the past was denied. The larger shapes are supposed to have been bronze, of Etruscan shape (72). W.-M. makes the comparison with nearby Spina, first with painters represented (62-68), in appendix 6 in general (88-89). Comparison is difficult as the material from Adria hails from the living quarters, while in Spina the necropolis is the source. This difference has influence on the state of preservation, the types of vases (lekythoi are naturally more numerous in Spina), and the iconography. In Spina, oinochoai, containers, kraters and plates make up a large part of the repertoire, but drinking vessels are also present. Notable is the absence in Spina of important earlier cup painters like Douris, Makron and the Brygos and Triptolemos Painters, who are abundantly present in Adria. The case would have been clearer if the analysis of painters had been combined with this more general discussion.

The primary order of the catalogue is shape (variety).

My main criticism of the catalogue is that W.-M. chose iconography as the secondary criterion. It may have been the choice of Francesco Antonio Bocchi (93); the scholar interested in red-figure vases is really best served in catalogues by a chronological/stylistic presentation. The focus of the study is not iconography, and the fragmentary state of the collection does not even allow for a thorough iconographic analysis. What results is a somewhat jumbled catalogue, which is a shame as the work done on it, as well as the accompanying drawings, are exemplary in their thoroughness.

The illustrations are not limited to modern photographs but also comprise the earlier drawings. No 691, for instance, an unassuming skyphos with athletic youths by the Painter of Todi 474 (204), gives the fragment in four varieties, illustrating adjustments according to the taste of the time. The photographs are small, sometimes rendering the style of painting illegible – the more complete fragments are better illustrated in the Adria CVA fascicule. Descriptions are concise and clear, dating precise, attributions reliable; where possible, W.-M. has added comparanda, where she also cites the numbers from the Beazley Archive database, greatly enhancing accessibility. The new attributions seem sound; the drawings (523-562) are excellent.

In sum, the author may be congratulated with this successful and interesting study.

Winfred van de Put

CELIA E. SCHULTZ, PAUL B. HARVEY JR. (eds), *Religion in Republican Italy.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006, reprinted with corrections in 2008. pp. xiv, 299; 15 b/w ill.; 23 cm (Yale Classical Studies 33). – ISBN 978-0-521-86366-7.

The role of religion in the processes set in motion by the Roman expansion in Italy is currently gaining much academic interest. The apparent success of this collection of papers on the Roman impact on religious observance in Italy (rather than on religion in Italy in general as the title might perhaps seem to suggest), first published in 2006 and reprinted with corrections in 2008, may attest to this recent development. It has been the editors' explicit aim to explore new insights into religious aspects of the 'Romanisation' of the Italian peninsula by bringing together specialists working in different scholarly fields. As a result, the collection displays a rich variety in methodological approaches as well as in geographical scope (although Latium and Etruria predominate). This has the important strength that it gives due attention to particular local developments and manifestations of Roman-Italic religious practice, without forcing the arguments of the separate papers into one general interpretative framework. It also means that the reader must not expect overarching interpretations or theories of religious change in Italy, but rather different possible approaches to the subject, as well as some fine debunking of traditional conceptions of religious change in the Republican period.

An example of the latter is the important paper 'Reconsidering "religious Romanization"', in which Fay Glinister questions the direct relationship between anatomical terracottas and Roman influence that usually has been assumed. She argues that the correlation between the appearance of terracottas of this type and Roman colonisation is both geographically and temporally problematic, since anatomicals have been found outside colonial territories as well and sometimes predate the Roman conquest (cf. for the argument also the almost simultaneously published article by M.D. Gentili, Riflessioni sul fenomeno storico dei depositi votivi di tipo etrusco-laziale-campano, in A.M. Comella/S. Mele (eds), *Depositi votivi e culti dell'Italia antica dall'età arcaica a quella tardo-repubblicana*, Bari 2005, 367-378). Although a correlation with Roman colonisation cannot be entirely effaced (the issue in any case awaits an in-depth study taking into account all available archaeological evidence), Glinister's main - and convincing - point is that the spread of anatomicals does not represent (p. 25) 'a conscious Roman policy, nor the spread of a distinctively Roman religious form', but was rather part of a more general Hellenistic trend that was adopted by Romans and Italians alike.

Turning to Etruria, in the paper 'In search of the Etruscan priestess: a re-examination of the *hatrencu*', Lesley E. Lundeen takes a critical approach to the traditional interpretation of the hatrencu, a term which appears in twelve brief funerary inscriptions from Vulci, as indicating a specific priestly college of women. Lundeen argues that this interpretation is biased by amongst other things (false) assumptions on the role of women in Roman religion and hypothesises, inspired by recent developments in research on women in Roman religion, that the term *hatrencu* was perhaps rather related to a civic title or a public magistracy.

In 'Etruscan religion at the watershed: before and after the fourth century BCE' Jean MacIntosh Turfa offers a panorama of the Etruscan religious landscape and its crucial changes in the mid-Republican period. Discussing systematically the different sources at our disposal, she notes the remarkable gap between the aspect of early Etruscan religion and the image of Etruscan religious practice formed by later Roman writers. Turfa concludes that both the actual Etruscan religious landscape as it appeared to post-fourth century observers and specific Roman concerns have led to a biased picture of Etruscan religion which favours public over personal aspects.

A local case study is offered in 'Religious locales in the territory of Minturnae: aspects of Romanization' by Valentina Livi. Livi discusses the evidence for both colonial and indigenous cult places in and near the Roman colony and assesses the impact of colonisation on the indigenous Aurunci in this light. In Livi's view, the installation of the colony thoroughly uprooted the local culture and religious practices. The old indigenous cult places continued to be frequented, but new types of religious material culture appeared which according to Livi could point to the adoption of new religious forms by the local population.

A careful and impressive epigraphical approach is presented by Paul B. Harvey Jr., who investigates 'Religion and memory at Pisaurum' by analysing the religious dedications in archaic Latin found there (which he convincingly dates shortly after the installation of the colony in 184 BC, and not before that time

as some earlier commentators have done). He not only points out the specific Latin overtones in the choices for the venerated deities, which he relates to the origin of the first colonists, but also recognises the re-assertion of this origin in a late 2nd-century AD inscription which mentions *cultores Iovis Latii*. Harvey connects this process to the strong antiquarian interest and related religious romanticism in the Antonine period.

In 'Inventing the *sortilegus*: lot divination and cultural identity in Italy, Rome, and the provinces', W.E. Klingshirn discusses the changing role of the practice of lot divination. He discerns a development from shrine-based ritual in archaic times to independent lot diviners in the 1st century BC, which he links to a general shift to diviner-based ritual. These diviners, competing with other religious practitioners, would then literally have invented the term *sortilegi* for themselves in order to enhance their legitimacy and status.

The next paper by Ingrid Edlund-Berry, 'Hot, cold, or smelly: the power of sacred water in Roman religion, 400-100 BCE' offers an overview of the importance of water and its associated qualities in Roman and Italic religion, in particular on the basis of literary sources and some famous cult sites. Especially the Italic goddess Mefitis was associated with (sometimes sulphuric and thus smelly) water (Mefitis' character has been much discussed in recent research, cf. various contributions in D. Caiazza (ed.), *Italica ars. Studi in onore di Giovanni Colonna per il premio I Sanniti*, Piedimonte Matese 2005; F. Calisti, *Mefitis: dalle madri alla madre: un tema religioso italico e la sua interpretazione romana e cristiana*, Rome 2006).

John Muccigrosso argues in 'Religion and politics: did the Romans scruple about the placement of their temples?' that the placement of temples should be primarily understood in terms of their political importance (and not in more religious terms). Elaborating on Ziolkowski's work, he also emphasises the importance of individual initiatives in the process, and discusses the case of Q. Fabius Rullianus in particular.

In 'Juno Sospita and Roman insecurity in the Social War', Celia E. Schultz links the senate's decision to refurbish the temple of Juno Sospita in 90 BC to the contemporaneous and grave conflict with Rome's Italic allies, the Social War. Although originally a pan-Latin goddess, Juno Sospita was in Roman eyes strongly associated with Lanuvium, her prime place of worship. The Lanuvian cult place came to resort under Roman control in 338 BC after the Latin war, and the association of the latter conflict with the Social War would have prompted the senate's decision to refurbish her Roman temple. Importantly, Schultz also corrects previous assumptions on the 'female character' of the cult, and instead points out its primarily civic and political associations.

Even if not intended as a general conclusion, the last chapter 'Beyond Rome and Latium: Roman religion in the age of Augustus' by A.E. Cooley provides an excellent finale for the book as a whole by focusing on the ways Roman religious models were created and exported in the early imperial period, particularly so because the links and differences with Republican practice are carefully traced. She starts with an analysis of the celebrations of the *ludi saeculares* in 17 BC, during which the incorporation of the Latins was highlighted. Cooley shows that the Latins were evoked here because they, subjugated and incorporated successfully already in the 4th century BC, provided an appropriate role model for the empire as a whole. The late Republican and early imperial periods also witnessed an increasing synchronisation of different local religious calendars, which helped create a new and universal imperial culture. For this new religious culture, also the proliferation of deities with the qualification 'august-(an)' and their consequent spread beyond Rome was of fundamental importance.

In conclusion, this collection of papers offers tantalising new views as well as detailed local or thematic case studies, in which different perspectives and methodologies are employed. This rich, thought-provoking and well-edited work (I found few typos in the reprinted edition) surely is recommended reading for those interested in Roman religion and cultural change in the Republican period, and is likely to stimulate further debate on the religious aspects and effects of early Roman expansion.

Tesse D. Stek

KEVIN ANDREWS, *Castles of the Morea*. Revised edition with a Foreword by Glenn R. Bugh, Princeton NJ: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2006. XXVII + 274 pp, , 231 figures in text, 40 plates; 31 cm (Gennadeion Monographs 4). – ISBN 978-0-87661-406-8.

This publication is a slightly revised reprint of a study that was edited for the first time in 1953 and was reprinted integrally by A. Hakkert, Amsterdam in 1976. The title is somewhat misleading, because not all castles and fortifications in the Peloponnese are discussed. The study is only discussing a number of 17 fortresses, that were in Venetian hands during the Second Venetian-Turkish War of 1685-1715. As a maritime Republic Venice was only interested in harbours and coastal regions; therefore all castles, apart from Mistra, are situated on the sea-shore or nearby.

A portfolio of Venetian drawings and maps of these fortifications was bought by the Gennadius Library in Athens in 1938. The maps were drawn about 1700 by order of Francesco Grimani, the military commander and later governor of the Morea (Peloponnese). Most important fortifications were at Koroni and Methoni, Navarino, Monemvasia, Argos, Nauplion as well as the immense complex of Acrocorinth.

In the late 1940s as a young scholar Andrews undertook the task to prepare a publication of this so-called Grimani portfolio. At that time - the years of the Civil War in Greece and its aftermath - this project was a very dangerous activity. In the first edition all maps and drawings were reproduced in black and white, in this new edition in colour.

The description of every castle follows a fixed pattern: first a site entry, followed by an historical survey and then a detailed description of the architectural remains, richly illustrated with a number of black and white photographs.

The historical sketches of the 17 fortresses are concise and contain a lot of interesting details collected from many different sources (Byzantine - Crusader period - Venetian and Ottoman). The description of the architecture is elaborate and for many details the photographs are very elucidating. The author tries to discern between the different phases of buiding and rebuilding of the castles, which sometimes were build up in the early Byzantine period, reconstructed by Cusaders or Venetians after 1204, rebuilt again by the Ottomans and reinforced by the Venetians for a second time around 1700.

For all students of Medieval and later military architecture this book provides a lot of interesting details. In 1953 the publication was epoch-making in a field that was nearly unexplored. In the decades after 1953 a lot of detail studies has been published in books and articles, but the fact that in 2006 the American School of Classical Studies at Athens decided to produce a slightly revised second edition is a prove that the study of Kevin Andrews still is of great value in this very specialised field of research.

And yet, this publication is a little bit out-dated, because during the last 50 years in history and archaeology new ideas and new approaches were explored. In 1953 the emphasis was mainly laid on historical facts and field research of the architectural remains. This implies that the author did not include in his study the richness of the Venetian and Ottoman archives.

In modern research social and economic history have got a prominent place and the integration of a castle into broader regional considerations will take a more prominent place. Therefore I think that based on the profound study of Andrews much interesting research on this small part of the history and archaeology of Greece has still to be done.

J.P.A. van der Vin

Books received

DIMITRA ANDRIANOU, *The Furniture and Furnishings of Ancient Greek Houses and Tombs*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009. 213 pp., 24 figs; 26 cm. – ISBN 978-0-521-76087-4.

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JOSÉ MARÍA BLÁZQUEZ, *Cristianismo y mytos clásicos en el arte moderno*. Madrid; Cáterna, 2009. 400 pp., figs; 21 cm. – ISBN978-84-376-2586-7.

MICHAEL BLÖMER/MARGHERITA FACELLA/ENGELBERT WINTER (eds), *Lokale Identität im Römischen Nahen Osten. Kontexte und Perspektiven. Erträge der Tagung „Lokale Identität im Römischen Nahen Osten" Münster 19.–21. April 2007*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2009. 340 pp., figs; 24.5 cm (Oriens et Occidens 18). – ISBN 978-3- 515-09377-4.

MARK BRADLEY, *Colour and Meaning in Ancient Rome*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009. 267 pp., no figs; 22 cm (Cambridge Classical Studies). – ISBN 978-0-521-11042-6.

IRENE BRAGANTINI/ROSA DE BONIS/ANCA LEMAIR/RENAUD ROBERT, *Poseidonia - Paestum* V. *Les maisons romaines de l'Îlot nord*. Rome: École Française de Rome, 2008. 358 pp., 259 figs, maps; 28 cm (Collection de l'École Française de Rome 42/5). – ISBN 978-2-7283-0803-3/ISSN 0223-5099.

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ÉVELYNE BUKOWIECKI/HÉLÈNE DESSALES/JULIEN DUBOULOZ et al., *Ostie, L'Eau dans la Ville. Châteaux d'eau et réseau d'adduction*. Rome: École Française de Rome, 2008. 260 pp., 130 figs; 27.5 cm (Collection de L'École Française de Rome 402). – ISBN 978-2-7283--817-0/ISSN 0223-5099.

NICHOLAS D. CAHILL (ed.). *Love for Lydia: a Sardis anniversary volume presented to Crawford H. Greenewalt, Jr. Archaeological exploration of Sardis; Report 4*. Cambridge, Mass.; London: Harvard University Press, 2009. XVI+249 pp., [20] pp. plates; 31 cm. – ISBN 978-0-674-03195-1.

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